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EDITORIAL

In years past the Review has published various articles dealing with Hutterian history from the pen of John Horsch, Johann Loserth, Robert Friedmann, Paul Dedic, and Ernst Correll, but has never undertaken the publication of original Hutterian documents. The astonishing number of significant Hutterian documents which have been preserved and have gradually come to light, has led the editors to decide to publish a series of them. Dr. A. J. F. Zieglschmid of Northwestern University was able to secure photostatic copies of a large number of hitherto unpublished Hutterian letters of the sixteenth century on the occasion of a recent trip to Central Europe, and has prepared them for publication in scientific form. We present five of these letters in the January and April numbers of the Review. Dr. Zieglschmid's transscription is not only historically reliable but philologically letter-perfect, as indicated in his introduction. The letters as published will therefore have a double value, first for the student of Anabaptist history, and second for the philologist interested in the Early New High German language period. Three letters of 1527, 1532, and 1533 are printed in this issue. Two others will appear in the April issue.

Amish Service Manuals, by John Umble, brings to Review Readers an interesting and generally unknown aspect of Amish church life. Professor Umble has secured and edited three slightly different versions of the manual which is used by the Old Order Amish ministers in the ordering of their public services of worship. This manual prescribes the scripture readings and hymns to be used on the various Sundays of the church year. The origin of this service manual is shrouded in the mists of the past, but without doubt it contains traditional forms of great antiquity, as do all of the Amish formularies and traditions of worship. When one recalls that Amish ministers still read prayers from a printed prayerbook, and that they follow carefully the service manuals, it becomes evident that the Amish worship is defined within much more rigid limits than the worship of the Mennonites in general. In some respects indeed it is reminiscent of "high church" rigidity.

Early Anabaptism of the Reformation Period had a unique and clearly marked character which distinguished it sharply from both Catholicism and Reformation Protestantism. It is hardly to be expected that the spiritual and lineal descendants of the Anabaptists, the Mennonites of various countries in Europe and America, should have retained altogether unchanged the total content of original Anabaptism; and it is perhaps not even desirable that they should have done so. Certain it is, however, that far-reaching modifications in faith and life have come, and that some sectors of world Mennonitism today have only remote similarity to their forefathers in faith. Strangely enough, the most widely differentiated Mennonite groups all seem to believe that they have faithfully retained the essence of their heritage from the past. It is quite impossible however that this can be true. It is obvious that radical changes have occurred, at least in some regions. These changes have been due for the most part to foreign influences penetrating into Mennonitism from the outside. The exact character and extent, as well as the source of these changes, is little understood, because little studied or even realized, but the changes have been occurring throughout the entire history of Mennonitism, in America as well as in Europe. Dr. Robert Friedmann, whose highly significant and penetrating analysis of the essence of the Anabaptist interpretation and practice of Christianity appeared in the April and July 1940, issues of the Review under the title, "Anabaptism and Pietism," now gives us an appendix to that discussion in the form of an article entitled "Spiritual Changes in European Mennonitism, 1650-1750." Dr. Friedmann surveys the impact of pietistic and rationalistic influences on the Mennonites of Holland and West Germany in the century of 1650-1750, and opens up new perspectives on the spiritual history of European Mennonitism. This enlightening study suggests the need of a similar perspective on the spiritual evolution of American Mennonitism. Without doubt the influence of outside religious movements upon American Mennonites has been not only varied but powerful and significant. One has only to think of the nineteenth century revivalistic movements of the Moody type, and similar influences, but also modernistic and rationalistic influences as well. The story of these influences still needs to be told. American Mennonitism as a whole has been too engrossed in itself to acquire the necessary perspective on its own history to become conscious of the impact of these foreign influences, or to evaluate them properly.

With this issue we conclude the publication of the Palatinate Mennonite census lists begun in the January, 1940, issue. The editors had hoped to be able to present a commentary on these lists based upon the joint study of editors Correll, Neff, and Bender, but the difficulty of communication across the Atlantic at the present time makes that impossible. They look forward to this at the conclusion of the present World War. At that time a publication of the lists in book form with commentary and maps may be as possible as it is desirable.

UNPUBLISHED 16TH CENTURY LETTERS OF THE HUTTERIAN BRETHREN, I

A. J. F. Zieglschmid

[Northwestern University]

I. Introduction

The present publication contains the transcription of several hitherto unpublished sixteenth century letters by members of the Hutterian Brotherhood. In order to make these letters useful in more than one respect special pains were taken by the editor to furnish the reader with the texts as he found them in the various codices. Hence, he presents the reader with non-normalized, i. e. diplomatic, texts. These texts will be of interest to church historians and historians of the Reformation epoch as well as to philologians interested in the Early New High German language period (1520-1620). At the same time, they will form a valuable supplement to the Hutterian Chronicle which refers to the present letters.

In editing the letters the same system is used as outlined in my forthcoming diplomatic edition of *Die älteste Hutterische Chronik* and, to a certain extent, in my article entitled "An Unpublished 'Hausbrief' of Grimmelshausen's Hungarian Anabaptists" (in *Germanic Review,* XV, April, 1940, New York, Columbia University Press).

The letters to follow are given in their chronological order rather than in the sequence found in the codices. Although all the peculiarities of the original manuscripts as to orthography, punctuation etc. have been faithfully reproduced the following must be observed:

1. The letter *u* in the MSS is usually written with the horizontal diacritic [˘] commonly found over the German-script *u,* or with a diacritical mark having the form of either two horizontal dots or two parallel oblique lines. The horizontal diacritic [˘] has been omitted over *u* in the present print; the two dots or oblique lines, however, have been carefully rendered as dots.[1] Other vowels and

certain consonants having any one of the three diacritical marks appear in print with their proper diacritic as found in the original.

2. It was necessary for technical reasons in printing to use the italic *r* instead of the so-called round *r*.

3. For the same reason, the upright modern form of the interrogation mark has been used in the printed text in place of the oblique or horizontal forms as found in the MSS.

4. Likewise, the various contractions, ligatures, and symbols of abbreviation in nouns, adjectives, and verbs had to be resolved. However, in order to aid the reader in reconstructing the original in this respect, subscript numerals in brackets are used which refer the reader to the proper lines in Table I. On it the contractions and ligatures of the MSS are presented. Thus, e. g., the word Brued[er$_6$] appears in the printed text. Subscript $_6$ refers the reader to line 6 of Table I where the ligature for *der* in the MSS is reproduced.

5. Special mention must be made of the fact that the transcriptions were carefully collated with the original letters. Thus the peculiar orthography frequently encountered in this edition is authentic.

6. Since Early New High German words frequently but wrongly suggest meanings close to modern German their proper connotations are indicated in footnotes. These are intended primarily for the reader without any linguistic training in that early form of German.

7. Words written in *Druckschrift* in the original MSS (usually at the beginning of a new paragraph) are characterized by italics in the present edition.

The following *Explanations* will be of use to the reader:

1. A superscript numeral, e. g. [^{1}], refers to footnotes containing linguistic, biographical, historical or geographical data.
2. A subscript numeral in brackets, e. g. Brued[er$_6$], refers to the corresponding line in Table I where the ligature (in this case, that of *-der*) is shown as it appears in the original MSS.

The following *Abbreviations* are used in the present publication:

1. m_1 = *manu prima* 'in the hand of the writer of the codex'
2. m_2 = *manu secunda* 'in the hand of a writer other than that of the MS
3. *ss.* m_1 = *supra scriptum manu prima* 'written above the line in the

1. Both the double dots and the double slanting lines have the same distinguishing purpose as the diacritic [ˇ], namely, to differentiate German-script *u* from *n;* cf. P. A. Grun, *Leseschlüssel zu unserer alten Schrift* (C. A. Starke, Görlitz, 1935), p. 23; cf. also my study entitled "Ein unveröffentlichtes Lutherdokument" in *Germanic Review,* XIV, Nr. 2, April, 1939, p. 84, Note 39.

In Letter II, however, the diacritic [¨] as well as the superscript *o,* i. e. [°], also indicate umlaut, e. g., *uber* [written *ůber* or *ŭber*] = *über.*

hand of the writer of the MS'; this abbreviation occurs in footnotes only

4. *ss. m_2* = *supra scriptum manu secunda* 'written above the line in the hand of a writer other than that of the MS'; this abbreviation occurs in footnotes only
5. *r[ecto]*, e. g. [275r], indicates the right-hand page, i. e. the front page, of folio 275 of the MS
6. *v[erso]*, e. g. [275v], indicates the left-hand page, i. e. the back page, of folio 275 of the MS; both r[ecto] and v[erso] as well as the hyphens immediately preceding and following the brackets in the case of the division of a word, e. g. *hoff-*[281r]*-nung,* are the editor's
7. *str. fem.* (*masc., neut.*) = 'belonging to the strong feminine' (masculine, neuter) declension'
8. *wk.* = weak (declension or conjugation)
9. *MHG* = Middle High German
10. *EaNHG* = Early New High German

II. The Letters

The unpublished letters transcribed below are contained in a codex which, according to the title page, was written by an unknown Hutterian brother in 1577. The title page (cf. facsimile) has the following inscription m_2: "Colleg[ium] Szakol[czense=Skalitz] S[ocietatis] J[esu] Catal[ogus] in her [?] 1764."[2] This item indicates the confiscation of the codex by the Jesuits[3] who incorporated this manuscript in their monasterial library at Skalitz in Hungary in 1764. Later, the codex was kept at the University Library at Budapest under the signature VIII.g.39[4], still later at the University Library at Vienna under the signature I.340. It now is in the same library under the signature I.87708.[5]

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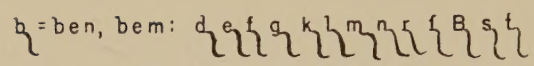
2. Cf. *Ročenka vedeckých ústavov mesta Bratislavy na rok 1934* (Municipal Archives, Bratislava, Slovakia, 1934), p. 43: "Conventus Szakolczenſis Ordinis Minorum Strictioris Observantiae Sancti P. Franciſci Almae Provinciae Hungariae Sanctiſsimi Salvatoris."

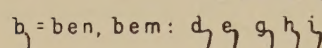
3. Cf. Robt. Friedmann, "Die Briefe der österreichischen Täufer", in *Archiv für Reformations-Geschichte* XXVI: 166-168 (1929), about the confiscations of Hutterian writings by the Jesuits.

4. The MS is thus mentioned in J. Beck, *Die Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertäufer* (in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum,* 2. Abtlg.: *Diplomataria et Acta,* Vol. 43 [Vienna, 1883], Introduction, p. 30; Abbr.: Beck, *Fontes*).

5. It may be mentioned here that this codex apparently was originally copied from two codices; for the entry "Eeind[a] des Biechels" is made on fol. 237v, following the closing word "Amen" of the letter from Jeronimus Käls to his fellow prisoners (1536). The subsequent fols. 238r-241v are blank. Fol. 242r contains the beginning of an epistle on dogmatics from Leonhart Schiemer (published in the meanwhile by Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter,* Leipzig, 1938, pp. 44-80) in a handwriting different from that of fols. 1-237v.

a. The *i* following the *e*, according to upper German usage (cf. V. Moser, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik,* § 70, Note 6) serves to indicate a closer pronunciation of the *e*, as for instance in the upper German forms *eirbe* = *das Erbe*, *eiltest* = *eltest* = *ältest, heild* = *der Held.* The majuscule *E* is indistinct because of its many flourishes.

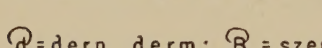
1  = ben, bem:

2.  = ben, bem:

3. = gen, gem; = zen, zem; = szen, szem

4. = ben, bem; = en, em

5. = en, em

6.  = ber:

7. = dern, derm; = szern, szerm; = tern, term

8. = der

9. = florin 10 = solidus 11 = denarius

12. = ver, Ver

13. [13. and 14. are abbreviation marks at the end of a word:] 14.

15. [15.–17. and 23.–24. are closing marks at the end of a paragraph:]

16. 17

18. $\tilde{m}$, $\bar{m}$ = men; $\tilde{n}$, $\bar{n}$ = nen

19. v$\tilde{m}$, v$\bar{m}$ = vm[b(e)]

20. v$\tilde{n}$, v$\bar{n}$ = vn[d(e)]

21. $\tilde{e}$, $\bar{e}$ = en

22. = us

23. [cf 15.] 24

Key to subscript numerals used in editing the Hutterian Epistles to indicate difficult manuscript letters not reproduced literally in the printed text

Letter I

Ein troft Brieff Leonhart Schiemers an ainem ſchwachen Brueder

This letter comprises fols. 274v-283r of Cod. I.87708. It is also contained in Cod. 559 of the *Mährisches Landesarchiv* at Brünn in Moravia. The more important variations within the text of this latter manuscript are indicated in the footnotes below.

Concerning Schiemer cf. Beck, *Fontes,* pp. 59-60 and Note, pp. 61-62; Jos. Loserth, "Der Anabaptismus in Tirol", in *Archiv für österr. Geschichte* LXXVIII; 452 (Wien, 1892); F. Roth, *Augsburgs Reformations-Geschichte* I; 232, 262 (Augsburg, ²1901); *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (Mennonitisches Verlagshaus, Scottdale, Penna., 1914), pp. 18-20; L. Müller, *op. cit.;* first-hand information about Schiemer in my forthcoming diplomatic edition of *Die älteste Hutterische Chronik,* entry for the year 1528 (edition R. Wolkan: *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder* [Standoff Colony, Macleod, Alberta, Canada, 1923], pp. 43-44).

Schiemer, according to Beck, *Fontes,* p. 61, Note, was taken prisoner near Rottenberg on the Inn River in Tirol on November 25, 1527. He was burned at the stake January 14, 1528. Since he sent the following undated letter "aus meinen Banden" he must have written it between November 25, 1527, and January 14, 1528.

From a linguistic point of view, the lack of rounded vowels and rounded diphthongs in Letter I is noteworthy, e. g. *fir = für, wachst = wächst, wieten =wüten,* etc., as well as the occasional absence of participial prefixes and suffixes, e. g. *geben = gegeben,* etc.; *getödt = getötet, zuebereite = zubereitete,* etc.

[275 r] *Erquickh dich der ainig*[1] *troſt/ich* main aber den
Joan 14[2] 16. heilligen geiſt/den vns Chriſtus der Herr/von ſeinem himliſchen vatter erworben vnd geſendet hat/in im findent[3] wir allain troſt/hilff vnd erledigung[4] darumb ſpricht Gott
Eſai 51. durch den Propheten/ich bin es der euch tröſtet/weiter
pš 146. Jere 1 ſagt Dauidt/auch Gott durch Jeremiam/ir ſolt euch nit vertrauen auf die Firſten der menſchen/in dennen kain hail iſt/in Chriſto finden wir allain fridt vnd wunſamigk-
math 11. lich[5]/dan[6] er ſpricht/kumbt her zu mir alle die ir beſchweert ſeit/ich wil euch erquickhen/das ir werdet euren
rom 15. ſeelen rue finden/darumb nēt in Paulus ein[7] Gott der gedult

1. MHG *einic* 'einzig; only'

2. The marginal notes of Letter I do not occur in *Cod. I. 87708* (Vienna). They are supplied by *Cod. 559* (Brünn).

3. wir findent: with excrescent *-t,* not infrequent in the 1. pers. pl. in the Bavarian dialect.

4. MHG *erledigunge* 'Befreiung, Erlösung; liberation'

5. *Cod. 559* has the correct form *wunnsamigkeit* (cf. MHG *wunnesam* 'wonniglich; blissful') 'Wonne erregendes Gefühl, Wonne; bliss'

6. MHG *dan(ne)* 'denn; als; for; than'

7. ein = ein'n = einen

2 Cor .1 vnd des troſts/auch gebenedeit ſeÿ Gott der vatter/vnſers Herren Jeſu Chriſtj/der vatter der Barmhertzigkait/ [275v] vnd Gott alles troſts der vns tröſt[8] in all unſerm triebſal alſo beetet auch Jeſus ein ſun ſirach zu Gott/ich ſach[9] auf die hilff der menſchen/vnd ſie möchten[10] mir nit zu tail werden[11]/vnd ich wend mich du dir/vnd du haſt mich erlöſt von der ſchalckhafftigen [zeit][12]/weliches[13]
Heſt .13. bekent auch/Mardocheus/ſagende/O Herr Herr Almechtiger Kinig[14]/nach deinem gefallen/vnd aus deiñer macht/ ſein[15] alle ding geſchaffen/vnd niemandt iſt/der deinnen
apac .4 willen widerſteen mag[10]/ſo du wilt[16] dein volckh hail machen/du haſt himmel vnd erden gemacht/ſambt allem ſo darinnen iſt/du biſt ein Herr aller ding/vnd iſt niemandt/der deiner Maieſteet widerſteẽ mag/O Herr allmechtiger [276r] vatter erhalt vns/das wir nit hail ſüechen[17] beÿ der welt/Regenten/beÿ den hoffe[r]tigen[18] Firſten vnd Kinigen[14]/vnd das wir dein eer nit wenden[19]/ auf irrgend ainen menſchen/vnd dz[20] wir niemand anbeeten allain dich mein Gott/darumb O Heer ewiger Kinig/ der du biſt der Gott Abrahams / erbarm dich deines volckhs/dan die feindt deines worts wellen[21] vns verderben/vnd dein erbſchafft vertilgen/auch ſprach die Kinigin
Heſt 4 Heſter/O mein Herr/du biſt allain vnſer Kinig/hilff vns verlaſſnen/dan[6] aufſerhalb dein[22] iſt/kain helffer/dan die welt hat kain gniegen[23] das ſie vns vndertruckhen/mit

---

8. instead of *tröstet*

9. sach = sah; geschicht = geschieht; geschmecht = geschmäht: especially final *-h* and *h* before *t* in EaNHG are still guttural spirants as in MHG

10. er mag, wir migen, ir migt, wir möchten: MHG *mügen, mugen* (pres. tense: *mac;* past: *mahte, mohte, mehte*) 'können, vermögen: to be able to'

11. EaNHG, 'helfen [?]; to help, be of aid to [?]'

12. omitted in *Cod. I. 87708,* supplied by *Cod. 559*

13. upper German for *welches*

14. MHG *künic,* here with unrounding of *ü* to *i,* 'König; king'

15. upper German variation for *(wir, sie) sind*

16. MHG *du wilt* 'willst; thou wilt'

17. cf. *Introduction,* Footnote 1.

18. The *r* is omitted in *Cod. I. 87708; Cod. 559* has the older form *hochfertigen* (MHG *hôchvertic*) 'hoffärtig, stolz; haughty, proud'

19. MHG *wenden* 'richten; to turn, direct'; cf. Engl. *to wend*

20. dz = das; dasz

21. MHG *wellen, wöllen, wollen, wullen* 'wollen; to want to'

22. dein(er), gen.

23. MHG *genüege* 'Genüge; satisfaction'; *gniegen haben* 'to be satisfied'

herter[24] dienſtbarkait/ſie achten hoch den gwalt[25] vnd
ſterckh irer abgötereÿ vnd vnderſteen ſich deine treue
verhaiſſung [276v] zuuerkeeren vnd aus zu löſchen dein
erbſchafft/vnd zuuerſchlieſſen den mūdt deren die dich
loben/vnd aus zu tilgē dein eer/O Herr gedenckh vnd
erzaig dich vns/zu der zeit der triebſalen[26]/das erkennet
pš 118. auch Dauidt/ſagende/Herr hilff mir/ſo wierdt[27] ich ſeelig/
1 mach .3. auch/[wie][28] wurden wir beſteen migen[10]/on allaī[29] O
Joan 15 Herr do thueſt vs beÿſtandt/darumb hat vns Chriſtus
2 Cor .3. wol war[30] geſagt/on mich migt[10] ir nichts thuen/weiter
pš .69. ſagt Paulus vnſer gnueg thuen vnd vermigligkeit[31]/iſt
aus Gott/auch Dauidt ſchreit zum Herren/naig dich Gott
mir zu helffen/vnd eil/dz du mir ſchutz halteſt wo wir
vmb ſehen iſt es an dem/das wir Gott recht vertrauen/
math .16 19. das allain geſchehen mag[10]/ſo wir die glaſſenhait daruon
Chriſtus ſagt/grindlich an vns nemmen [277r] als dan
werden wir warhafftigklich mit Dauidt mögen[10] ſprechen/
pš 27. auff Gott hat ſich mein hertz verlaſſen/vnd mir [iſt][32]
geholffen worden/er iſt ie[33] allain der vns helffen kan/vnd
num 19 will/ſo wir anderſt vnſer hoffnung/auff in ſetzen/Item[34]
pš .115. der Herr iſt mit vns darumb förchtet euch nit/da Dauidt
ſagt der Herr iſt mit mir/der halben ich mir[35] nit fürcht
wz[36] mir der menſch thuen wirt/ſumma wer vnder dem
ſchirm des aller höchſten ſitzt/vnd vnder dē ſchaten des
allmechtigen bleibt/der ſpricht zum Herren/mit Dauidt/
pš .19. mein zuuerſicht/mein burckh/vnd mein Gott/auf den ich
hoff/er wirt mich erretten/von dem ſtrickh des Jägers/

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24. MHG *hert(e)* 'hart; severe'
25. MHG *gewalt,* str. masc., 'die Gewalt; force'
26. der triebsalen (gen. pl., here wk. decl.)
27. upper German for *ich werde*
28. omitted in *Cod. I. 87708;* supplied by *Cod. 559*
29. EaNHG *o(h)n allain* 'ausser, jedoch; except, but'
30. MHG *wâr* 'wahr; truthful'
31. cf. MHG *vermüge,* str. fem., 'Vermögen, Kraft; ability, strength'
32. omitted in *Cod. I. 87708;* supplied by *Cod. 559*
33. MHG *ie* 'immer, je; always'
34. The following passage, supplied by *Cod. 559,* was inadvertently omitted by the writer of *Cod. I .87708*: "Nahend iſt got/denen/die in anrüeffen in der warheit/wir ſollen all zeit mit paulo ſprechen/iſt got für vns./wer mag wider vns ſein/Item . . ."
35. MHG *vürhten,* refl. w. dat., 'sich fürchten; to be afraid'
36. wz = was; etwz = etwas

Joan ·6· 1 pet ·4 vnd von der Peſtilentz der argliſtigkait [277v] dan[6] wöllen[21] wir Chriſten ſein/ſo wirt vns die welt haſſen alsbalt[37] wir vns von ir abziehen vnd Chriſto nachuolgen/ math ·4 darumb ſpricht Chriſtus/niemandt kan zwaien Herren diennen/vnd zu gleich wol gfellig ſein/es mueſs ie[33] der 1 Cor ·10 2 Cor 6 Jer ·23 dienſt entzwaiet ſein/Wir künnẽ nit des Herren vnd des Teuffels kelch trinckhen/vnd irer baider [ver12]dienſt tailhafftig werden dan wz hat die gerechtigkait fir genieß[38] /mit der vngerechtigkeit/was hat dz liecht gemainſchafft mit der finſternus/wie ſtimbt Chriſtus mit Belial/oder wz fir ein tail hat der glaubig mit vnglaubigen/dz wir aber beÿ der welt alſo veracht ſein/ſollen wir vns nit verwundern/die weil vns Chriſtus ſolches [278r] zuuor mat 10 14 Luc ·21 geſagt hat/ir mieſſt gehaſt werden/vmb meines nammẽs willen von iederman/doch ſpricht er weiter/ein haar von eurem haubt ſoll euch nit vmb kommen/faſſet nur eure Joan 15 16· ſeelen wol mit gedult/dan[6] weeret[39] ir von der welt/ſo het die welt das irig lieb weil ir aber nit von der welt[40] erwölt/darumb haſt ſie euch/weiter/ſo euch die welt haſſet/ſo wiſſt/dz ſie mich vor euch gehaſt hat gedenckht an mein wort/da ich euch ſagt/der Junger iſt nit v̈ber den maiſter/ noch der knecht gröſſer dan[6] ſein Herr/haben ſie mich[44] veruolgen/ haben ſie mein wort gehalten/ſo werden ſie eures auch halten/aber das alles werden ſie/euch darumb thuen/das ſie weder [278v] mich noch meinnen vatter erkent haben/vnd ie mer ſich die gottloſen Tirannen reiſſen vnd wieten/ie mer wachſt die bekantnus/des Euangeli wie man zu der Apoſtel zeit/reichlich geſehen hat/dan[6] wo der geiſt Gottes wonet/da iſt fraidigkait vnd freihait/ein ieder der ſich dem von hertzen [ver12]traut/wirt nit zu ſchanden gemacht/wer in ſolchem feſten glauben/Chriſtum zu ainem verfechter nimbt vnd ſein laſſt vnd burtten auf ſein ruckhen wirfft/der wirt auf ainen felſen bauen/dem wirt kain wint ſturm wint[42] ſchaden mögen[10]/wirt er vertriben/ſo ſpricht er mit Job/der Herr hats geben/vnd wider

37. MHG *alsô, als* 'so; as' ; *als balt* 'so bald [als] ; as soon [as]

38. MHG *geniez,* str. masc., 'Nutzen, Vorteil; advantage'

39. weeret = wäret

40. The following passage, supplied by *Cod. 559,* was inadvertently omitted in *Cod. I. 87708:* "ſeit/ſonder ich hab euch von der welt . . ."

41. The following passage, supplied by *Cod. 559,* was omitted in *Cod. I. 87708:* "veruolget/ſie werden euch auch . . ."

42. thus in the original; *Cod. 559* has *ſturm wind*

gnom̃en/ſein nam ſeÿ gebenedeit in ewigkait wer etwz[36] von Chriſto wegen hie verlaſſet/der wirt es hundert feltig [279r] wider entpfahen/vnd das ewig leben ererben/werden wir von hauſs vnd hoff vertriben/ia auch gar getödt/ſo wiſſen wir mit Paulo/ſo vnſer irrdiſch hauß zerſtört wirt/das wir ein zueberaite wonung im himmel haben/nit von menſchen henden gemacht/ſonder die ewig bleibt im himmel/werden wir erquelt/oder veruolget/betriebt vnd beraubt/ſollen wir in gedenckh ſein/des troſts Chriſtÿ/der da ſpricht /ſelig ſein die da laid tragen/ſie werden getröſt/ſelig ſein die vmb gerechtigkait wegen veruolgt werden/dan[6] das himmelreich iſt ir[43]/ ſelig ſeit ir ſo euch de[44] menſchen ſchmähẽ/vnd veruolgen vmb meinnet willen/vnd reden alleylaÿ arges von euch/ſo ſie doch daran liegen[45]/habt [279v] freid vnd won[46]/es wirt euch im himmel wol belonet werden/dan[6] alſo haben ſie veruolgt die Propheten/die vor euch geweſen ſein/

Item eur traurigkait/wirt ſich in freid verkeren/vnd die wirt niemand von euch aufheben[47]/der gleichen ſagt Gott/ich wil ir trauren in freid verkeeren/ſie will ich tröſten vnd vor traurigkait muetig[48] machen/darumb ſpricht er zu ſeinen ſchäfflein/ſircht dich nit du klaine hert[49]/den es iſt euers vatters wolgefallen/euch das reich zu geben/weiter haben wir/ſeÿ vnuerdroſſen/ dan[6] ſo der tag der vndertretung[50] vnd der angſt kommen wirt/werden die andern wainen vnd trauren/du aber wirſt v̈berfliſſig[51] vnd völlig[52] vnd [280r] frölich ſein/alle völckher die dir neidig ſein/vnd doch nichts wider dich/vermigen[10]/ſpricht der Herr/hie mieſſen wir das keer kot[53] ſein/vnd als ſchlacht ſchaaff ertödt werden/in ſumma alle die Gottſelig leben wöllen/in Chriſto Jeſu/die mieſſen durch achtung[54]

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43. Bavarian use of the gen. pl. of the pers. pronoun with the earlier function of a possessive: 'ist ihr(er) = ihnen = gehört ihnen'
44. dialect form, abbreviation of *die*
45. MHG *liegen* 'lügen; to tell lies'
46. won = Wonne
47. EaNGH, 'wegnehmen; to take away'
48. MHG *muetic* 'fröhlich; gay'
49. MHG hërt 'Herde; herd'
50. cf. MHG *vndertrëten* 'unterdrücken; to oppress'
51. EoNHG, 'innerlich reich, überfliessend(en inneren Glückes sein); overflowing (with happiness)'
52. EaNHG 'innerlich voll, Fülle habend; exuberant'
53. ker kot (still used in modern Bavarian) 'Kehricht; rubbish, refuse'
54. MHG âhtunge 'Ächtung, feindliche Verfolgung; social ostracism, persecution'

leiden/vnd ſo wir nit mit im[55] leiden/ſo werden wir auch nit [mit][56] im[55] glorificiert vnd Herrlich gemacht/bleibt aber das Creitz aus/ ſo iſts ein zaichen/dz wir böſe Chriſten ſein[15]/vnd noch nit ãgenommen/in die kindtſchafft Gottes/dan[6] der Herr ſagt/die ich lieb hab/ die zichtig vnd ſtraff ich/er gaiſlet ainen ieden ſon/den er auf nimbt/O wol ain ſelige ſtraff wen wir vmb der warhait wegen geleſtert vnd geplagt verden/vnd ſo [280v] vns der Herr/alſo ſtreicht/ſollen wir mit Tobiam ſprechen/ich praiß dich Herr/das du mich gezichtiget haſt/vnd ſo wir die zichtigung erdulden/ſo erbeut ſich vns/Gott als dẽ kindern/wo iſt aber ein ſon/den d[er6] vatter nit[57] zichtigt/ſeit ir aber vn zichtigung/deren ſie alle ſein tailhafftig wordẽ/ſo ſeit ir panckharten[58]/vnd nit eekind[er6]/alle zichtigung/wen die gegenwertig iſt/wirt ſie nit fir ein frölich ding/ ſond[er6] fir ein traurig dīg angeſehen/aber hernach wirt ſie geben[59] /ein fridſame frucht der gerechtigkait dennen ſo dadurch geiebt[60] ſein[16] / dan[6] alſo ſagt Paulus / wir haben triebſal oder troſt / ſo gſchicht[9] es vns zu guetem/iſts triebſal ſo gſchichts[9] vs zu gueten[61]/ troſt vnd hail/der halben ſteet auch vnſer hoff-[281r]-nung feſt fir euch/die weil wir wiſſen das gleich wie ir des leidens tailhafftig werd/vnd ſeindt alſo werdt ir auch des troſt[62] tailhafftig ſein/Item ſeelig ſeit ir/wen ir geſchmecht[9] werdet/vber dem nãmen Chriſtÿ/ dan der geiſt/der ein geiſt der Herligkait vnd Gottes iſt/ der ruet auf euch bei inen/iſt er verleſtert/aber beÿ euch iſt er gepreiſt/darumb weliche[13] laiden nach Gottes willen/die beuelhen ire ſelen/als dem treuen ſchöpffer mit gueten werckhen/dan dz iſt gnadt/ſo ainer vmbs gwiſſens willen/belaidigt[63] wirt/Jacobus ſagt auch/ Sälig iſt der man/der die zichtigung erdultet/dan ſo er bewärt iſt/wirt er die Cron des lebens entpfahen/die [281v] Gott allen dennen/die in lieb haben/gwißlich verhaiſſen/er wirt ſein Gott ſein/vnd er ſein ſun/dẽ forchtſamen aber/vnd vnglaubigen/vnd greilichen/ vnd hueern[64]/vnd zaubren[65]/ vnd abgötischen/vnd allẽ lugnern/deren

55. im = ihm
56. supplied by *Cod. 559*
57. *nit* ss. m_1
58. MHG *banc-hart* 'Bastard, uneheliches Kind; bastard'
59. EaNHG *geben* 'ergeben, zu erkennen geben; to result, to make itself known as'
60. geiebt = geübt
61. *Cod. 559* has *zu guetem*
62. genitive ending *-s* missing
63. MHG *beleidigen* 'verletzen, schädigen, misshandeln; to harm, mistreat'
64. *Cod. 559* has *Huerern*
65. *Cod. 559* has *zaubrern*

tail wirt ſein im teicht[66] der mit ſchwefel vnd feur brint[67]/welches iſt der ander todt/O wol ein guete vnd glickhſelige zeit der Chriſten/ die von anfang der welt/bis auf die beſten ſchirkünfftigen[68] [tag][69] des grichts Gottes nie geweſen/vnd nit kommen wirt/ietzt geet der ſpruch an/ſo Gott durch Eſdram redet/es wirt ein groſſer auf-ſtandt werden/wider die ſo Gott firchten/ſie werden ſein wie die vnſiñigen/vnd niemandts verſchonnen/damit [282r] ſie verderben/ vnd verhergen[70] die Gottſeligen dan ſie werden verwieſten/vnd mit gwalt nemmen/ir hab vnd gieter vnd ſie aus iren heiſern ſtoſſen/ als dan wirt erſcheinen die bſandigkait vnd prob meiner auſſer-welten/dj werden propirt/wj dz Goldt im feur/höret meine geliebten/ſpricht der Herr/nembt war[30]/es ſein hie dj tag der triebſal/ vnd ich will euch von der ſelbigen erledigen/förcht euch nit/vnd zweiflet nit/dan[6] Gott iſt eur hauptman/es iſt an dem/das ſich der Adler zu dem Aß verſamlen wirt/dan es mueß dj gſchrifft in glideř wie am haupt erfilt werden/er will aber von vns nit weichē/ſo wir nur an im nit bundt brichig werden/in ſumma wz vns von Chriſtj wegē willen aufgeladen wirt/ſolln [282v] wir mit danckhſagung williglich aufnemmen/vnd ſagen/Herr dir ſeÿ lob eer/vnd danckh vnd preiß geſagt/dz du ſo ein klaine bezahlung/dan wir werden vns zu guet vmb vnſer beſen naigung vnd begirdt vom vatter gezich-tigt/fir die vnableſſige ſindt vnd ſchult von vns foderſt/den alles leiden diſer welt/iſt nit zuuergleichen der kinfftigen herrligkait vnd glorj/ſo an vns geoffenbart werden ſoll/darumb ſolln wir vns mer freien dan trauren/ſo vns der Herr zeitlich angreifft/die weil wir ſo gewiſſe vertröſtu[n]gen[71] von im haben/:·

Dieſes hab ich dir lieber Brueder nit verhalten wöllen weil vns Paulus ſo ernſtlich beuilcht vnd vermannet das wir tröſten ſollen die klain-[283r]-mietigen/vnd inen/wo ſie gſchlipfft wider aufhelffen/ vnd auff die rechte ban vnd weg/der Chriſtus iſt/laiten vnd weiſen/ [24] ſei ſtarckh im Herren der fridt Gottes ſeÿ mit vns allen/ Amen/

Von mir Brueder Leonhart Schiēer
aus meiñen Banden/:·

66. MHG *tîch,* here with excrescent *-t,* 'Teich; pond'
67. MHG *brinnen,* intrans., 'brennen; to burn'
68. EaNHG *schierkünftig* 'zukünftig; (of the near) future'
69. supplied by *Cod. 559*
70. EaNHG *verhergen,* MHG *verhergern* 'verheeren, verwüsten; to devastate, destroy'
71. the *n* supplied by *Cod. 559*

Letter II

Die Epiſtl Kuentz Füechters· Der Gemain in der Graffchafft Tÿrol·

Little biographical information about Füechter (Fiechter, Fichter) is available. He was taken prisoner at Sterzing near Brixen in Tirol in the spring of 1532 where, in the same year, he suffered the death of a martyr. The present letter was written during his incarceration.

For bibliographical data cf. Hege-Neff, *Mennonitisches Lexikon* 1:643 (1924) Art. "Fichter" by J. Loserth; Beck, *Fontes,* p. 106; cf. my forthcoming diplomatic edition of *Die älteste Hutterische Chronik,* entry for the year 1532 (ed. Wolkan, *op. cit.,* p. 74).

In order not to mislead the scholar of Early New High German dialects it must be mentioned, especially in reference to Letter II, that besides the diacritic [˘]an apparent superscript *o* is usually found over *u,* i. e. *ů.* Both *ŭ* and *ů* must occasionally be read as *u* or *ü* although the umlauted form *ü* occurs also. It must be noted that every *u* in the original is written with either the diacritic [˘] or [°]. These diacritical marks are omitted in our print, however, since no distinction could be ascertained in their usage.[1] The umlaut marks, on the other hand, are indicated in print wherever they appear in the MS. Vowels other than *u* which are written with either[˘] or [°] in the MS are always printed with the diacritic [˘], e. g. *v̆ber* (to be read as *über*), *Ermŏrden* (to be read as *ermörden*); *schaŭspiegl,* etc.

[412v] *Die Vnergründ*lich Gnadt: vnd Barmherzigkeit/Vonn Got/vnſrem himliſchen vatternn. die erkantnuß ſeines văterlichen willens in ſeinem geiſt/ſei mit eltiſten mit ſambt d[er$_6$] gantzen gmeĩ [413r] Vnd der fridt Jeſu Chriſti/ſei mit allen denẽ/ die den namen des Herren von reinem hertzen anrüeffen[1a]/Ewigclich. amẽ.

Zum Erſten danck ich meinem Gott/vnd vnſrem himliſchen vatter/ ſo offt ich gedenck ſeiner groſſen lieb/die er zu vns getragen[2] hat/ Inn dem dz er ſeines ainigen[3] ſuns nit verſchont hat/ſonder hat in fur vns dahin geben/in armuet truebſal angſt vnnd noth Bis in todt/ans Chreütz verfolgt/vnd ein ſchwaŭſpiegl[4] worden vnnd ein heer pranger[5] aus im gemacht/auf dz wir durch in herrlich vnd reich gemacht würden/ ſo wir in ſeinẽ wort veſt beharren bis ans Enndt/vnnd vns nit laſſen er-[413v]-ſchrecken von den Bluethun-

1. The apparent superscript *o* over *u* is a variation of the diacritic [˘]. As such it needed not be indicated in print according to our *Introduction,* item Nr. 1.

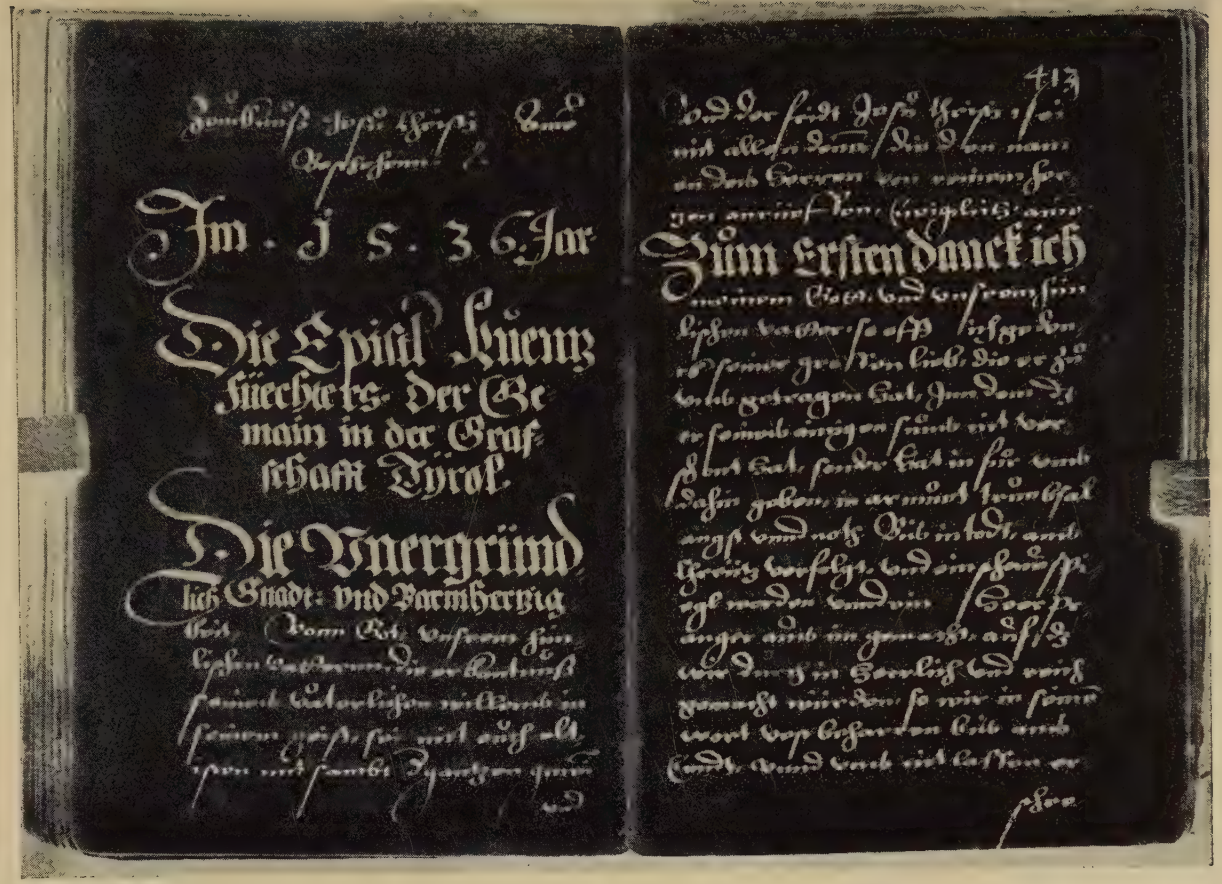
1a. cf. *Introduction,* Footnote 1

2. MHG *tragen* 'zuteil werden lassen, hegen; to have for'

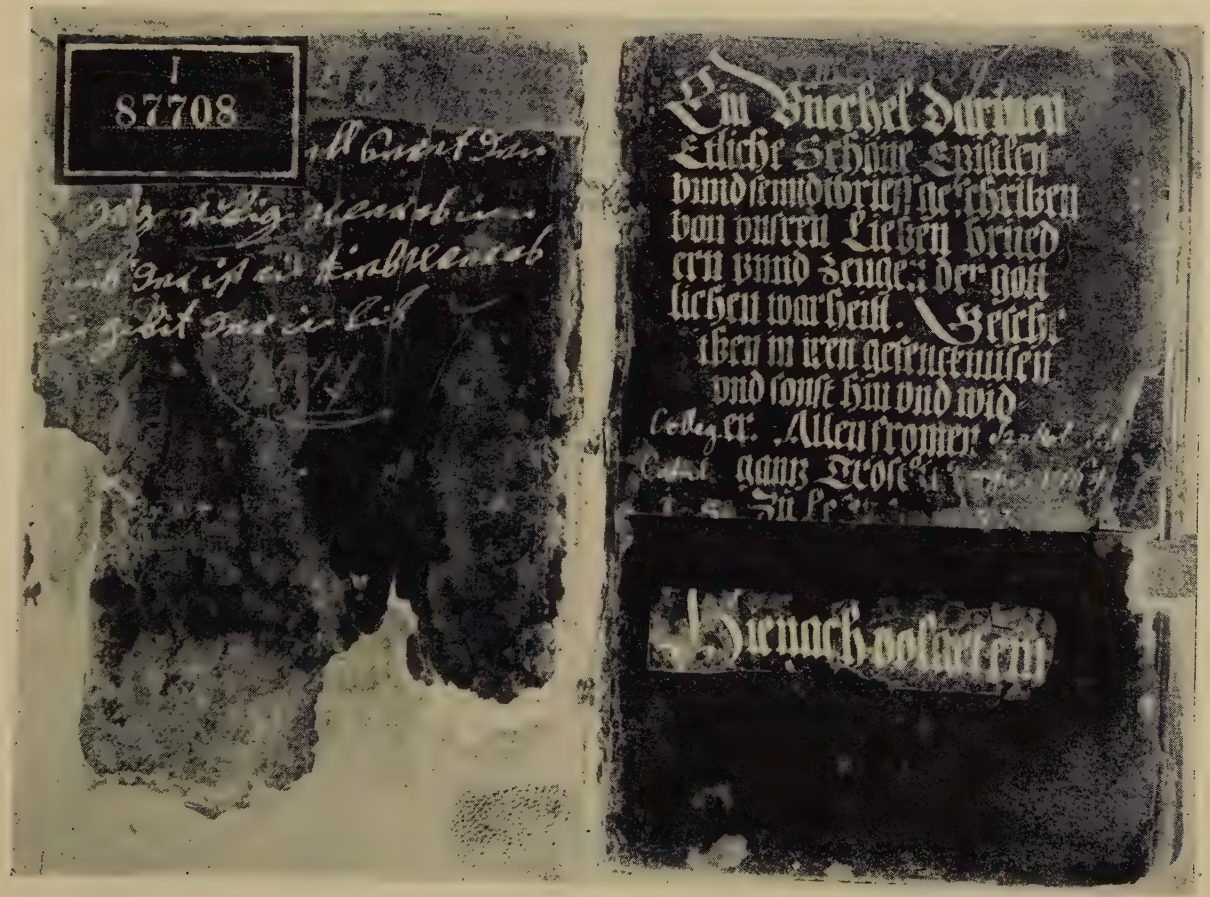
3. MHG *einic* 'einzig; only, sole'

4. EaNHG, figurative for 'Spiegel', cf. *Grimms Wörterbuch* VIII: 2375; yet here rather 'Schauspiel'

5. originally 'Schandpfahl; pillory'; here *Pranger* seems to refer to the person exposed to public scorn



Slightly reduced facsimile of the opening pages of a Hutterian Epistle from the Codex in the Vienna University Library shown in Plate II



Slightly reduced facsimile of title page of the Hutterian Epistle Codex
in the Vienna University Library

d[en$_5$] vnd feinden der gerechtigkeit/dj denn ſun gottes gekreütziget haben/Vnd ſeine Apoſtlen propheten vnnd heiligẽ/Ermŏrden/erwürgt/die denn[6] vns auch uber antworten in truebſal/wie ich den[6] dz auch ains tails Erſucht[7] hab/Vnnd erliten in pein vnnd marter/die ſie mir haben angelegt[8] on alle Barmherzigkeit. Dz ſie ſelbs mainten/ich mechts nit ertragen/Aber der Herr iſt treu/vnd laſt vns nit verſuecht werden/v̈ber vnſ[er$_6$] vermügen[9]/Ja ſie vermainten auch/ich mueß zerbrechen/aber es iſt nit ſo hefftig[10]/als fleiſch vnd bluet furgibt/Den gleich wie des truebſals vil v̈ber [414r] vns kumbt/ſo vil Kumbt auch der lieb vnnd des troſts uber vns/Auff dz wir bei im beſteen mugen[11]/ſo wir anderſt im allein vertrauen/ Vnd nit allein diſer Kampff mit fleiſch vnd pluet/ſunder auch ſchmach vnd ſchandt/die ſie mir haben angelegt[8]/mit ſambt irenn lugen vatern[12]/die mich verſuecht haben/an allen orten/Wie der Sathan den herren verſuecht hat/dz es mich ſeer gereuet hat/dz ich mich Erboten het[46]/mein ſach mit gſchrifft zuuerantworten/ Aber der Herr ſtuend mir bei in meiner Erſten Marter. Vnd hat mich in keinen dingen nit glaſſen zu ſchanden werden/den ſolche falſche vnd betrüeglich arbeiter/verſtellen ſich zu Chriſt[us$_{22}$] [414v] Apoſtlen vnnd Prediger der gerechtigkeit/vnnd brauchen alle ire geſchrifft in verkerter weiß mit ſchalkeit vnd mit liſt/in einẽ betrüglichen vnd gleiſneriſchen ſchein/Damit ſie vns ſuechẽ zu erſchleihen[13]/vnd vil von den vnſren verfuert haben/Got ſei es geklagt/von himel doben[74]/dz ir[15] etliche des Herren wort ſo ring[16] achten/wie dan der Gall[17] gethon hat/Vnnd der verfluechten ſchlang[en$_1$]/die Ohren geboten/den preiß bei den menſchen geſuecht/vnd die gabenn des herren verachtet/Darumb in got ver-

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6. MHG *den* 'dann; then'; 'denn; as you know'
7. MHG *ersuochen* 'ergründen, "auskosten"; to find out, experience'
8. EaNHG, 'antun, auferlegen; to apply (torture), to do to'
9. MHG *vermügen* 'Vermögen, Kraft; ability, strength'
10. MHG *heftic* 'ernst, wichtig; serious, of importance'
11. MHG *mügen, mugen* 'können, vermögen; to be able to'
12. Lat. *pater*
13. instead of *erschleichen* 'to attain one's end in an underhanded, sneaking manner'
14. EaNHG *doben,* contraction of *da oben*
15. ir = ihrer (gen. pl.)
16. MHG *ring(e)* 'leicht, gering; little, of little weight'
17. Dr. Gall Müllner, the court-chaplain at Innsbruck; cf. J. Loserth, "Zwei biogr. Skizzen aus der Zeit der Wiedertäufer in Tirol," in *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums* XXXIX (1895).

ſchupfft[18] hat/vnd alle die des herren wort ring[16] achten/der ſelben beſteet keiner/Dann der teuffel zaigt Vns auff dj zer-[415r]-gänck-lichen[19] nach diſer welt/Auff hauß hoff weib vnnd kindt/Leib vnd leben/Ja die ſeel darzue/welches dz grõſſeſt iſt/Vnd mit ſolcher ſchalckeit vnd geſchwulſtigen wortẽ/Handtieren ſie ann vns/damit ſie vns vonn der Warheit mẽchten abwenden/vnd vns vnſrẽ Köſt-lichen ſchatz vnd Edels perlein ſtelẽ mechten/vnd ſein gleich diſe dieb/dauon der herr ſagt/Ein dieb kombt nit anders/dan dz er ſtelle[20]/Würge/vnd vmbbringe. ſo ſie aber vns vnſre ſeelen nit mõgen ſtellen[20]/ſo ermõrden ſie vnns/den leib/auff dz ſie dz maß irer vätter in allen dingen erfüllen/die den auch den ſun vnd erben des Weinbergs getödt haben/vnd [415v] ſeine knecht geſteupt vnd veriagt vonn dem Oaim bißher/Welcher den auch ſeinen Brue-der erwurget hatt/vnnd von dem ſelben haben ſie es ererbett/vnnd haben ſich geſtoſſen ann denn Velſen/welcher iſt Chriſt[us$_{22}$]/ vnnd ſeindt ſo verſtockt/vnd gar verblenndt/dz ſie mainẽ es wer nit Muglich/dz iemandt onn ſündt in dz reich gottes komẽ mecht/ Vnnd vermainẽ mit iren greülichen wercken/als mit huererei/Ab-göterei/freſſerei vnd morderei/wellen[21] ſie denn weinberg ererben/ aber der Herr wirt alle böſwicht vbel vmbbringen/Vnnd ſeinen Weinberg denen gebenn/die im zu rechter zeit guette frucht brin-gen/Wie Chriſt[us$_{22}$] [416r] ſelber ſagt/Bleibet in mir/ſo werdet ir vil frucht bringen/ſo ir ſein wortt groß achtet/ſo bleibt ir ia in im/Wie dann der ſun Gottes abermal ſagt/Es ſei der Weinſtock wie die reben/ſein Vater der Weingartner/ſo vns denn der aller-hechſt rebenn vnnd erben gmacht hat/vnd vns in ſeinen aignẽ wein-berg gepflanntzt hat/wie kindt[22] ir denn ſolches aus der acht laſſen/ dz ir ſo gar meiner kleinen Hitz verdorret/abfalent[23] vnd wider in

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18. MHG *verschupfen* 'verstossen; to cast aside'

19. MHG *zergenclich* 'vergänglich, eitel; earthly, vain'; *ding* (pl.) "Dinge' seems to have been omitted

20. stelle = stehle

21. MHG *wellen, wollen, wöllen, wullen* 'wollen; to want to'

22. MHG *künnen; ir kindt*: here with unrounding of *ü* to *i; sie kunen*: (MHG pl. kunnen) 'können; to be able to'

23. The 2. pers. pl. pres. in *-ent*, frequent in Alemanic, is rather scarce in Bavarian. A strong influence of the Zürich Bible upon the language of the Hutterians is assumable.

The imperative of the 2. pers. pl. ending in *-ent*, prevalent in Alemanic, occurs in Hutterian writings rather frequently. This fact may also be due to the influence of the Zürich Bible upon the language of the Hutterians and secondly, to the levelling effect of the 2. pers. pl. pres. (ending in *-ent*) by way of analogy.

des teüffels weinſtock eingepflantzt/aber ſolche erbenn werden mit helliſchem feur verbrennet/die den ſun Gotes alſo[24] Creützigenn/ vnd fur ein ſpot halten/das Bluet des teſtaments vn-[416v]-rain achtenn. Denn geiſt der gnaden ſchenden/vnd aus leſchenn/Ja gott iſt freilich woll Barmhertzig/es wer ſunſt nit wunder dz ſich dz Erdrich[25] auffthet/vnd fueren Lebentig hinunder/in die Hell/wie die Kinder von Jſrael/dj vns der heilig Paulus auch furmalt/dz wir vnns nit ſolten gluſten[26] laſſen/wie Jene luſt hetẽ/Als den[27] ietzt auch etliche in dz ſelbig Exempel gfallen ſindt/vnnd denn frembden gŏtern nachlauffen/zue dienen/die got verfluecht hat/vnnd ewig auch verfluechen wirt/vnnd alle die in[28] annhangẽ/ Darumb ir meine Hertzlieben in dem Herren/Sehend[29] an die belonung vnd guete vnſers himliſchen vaters. ſo ir and-[417r]-erſt ann der guete feſt vnd vnbeweglich bleibt/Herwiderum Nemet zue hertzen/den grauſamen vnd groſſen ernſt gottes dem allerhechſten ſei es geklagt ann dennen/die gefallen ſind/Das er widerumb von in[28] geſchenndt/geleſtert vnd gekreützigt ſoll werden/Vonn denen darinen er rueen ſoll/die der helliſchen ſchlanngen zue loſen[30]/vnd vonn dem teüffel zu[31] lernen im zu dienen vnd anzuebeten/vnd ſein haubt zue eeren/Vnd dem kindt der Boſheit vnd des verderbens ſein/Huererei vnd laſter recht geben/vnd im ſein verfluechtes Sudlbadt[32] ſchön machenn/Welche alſo v̈b[er$_6$] wunden werd[en$_5$]/ die gehn den hin/vnd ſingen dem teüffel ein Hoffier liedl/das[33] [417v] mag[11] der ſathann mit ſeinẽ Kindern woll Lachenn/Vnd ſagen denn[6] Ei er hat ſich erſt bekert/vonn der ſündt vnnd iſt erſt recht geſchaffen wordenn/ſo er hin geet/Vnnd ſchendet den heiligẽ Namen gotes/dauon er genenet iſt/welchen man ſol groß vnnd Köſtlich machen/mit wortenn vnd wercken/wie vns dan[34] vnſer

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24. MHG *alsô* 'so, derartig; thus'

25. MHG *ertrîche;* peculiar is the shortening of *î* to *i* in the Austrian-Bavarian dialect; 'Erdreich; earth'

26. MHG *gelusten* 'gelüsten, Gelüsten haben; to have desires'

27. EaNHG *als den(n)* 'wie denn; as'

28. MHG *in;* modern dialects: in = in'n = inen = ihnen

29. cf. footnote 23. — The ending *-end* for the 2. pers. pl. of the imperative does occur in Bavarian; cf. K. Weinhold, *Bairische Grammatik,* §287.

30. MHG *losen* 'zuhören; to listen to'

31. *zu* has here no grammatical justification

32. cf. MHG *sudelen* 'beschmutzen; to soil, make dirty'

33. The MS clearly has *das* instead of *des*

34. dan = denn

maiſter Chriſt[us$_{22}$] lernet[35]/dann in diſẽ Namẽ Jeſu müeſſen ſich büegen[36]/alle himliſche vnd helliſche knie/vnd iſt dem menſchen kein andrer Namẽ geb[en$_5$]/Darinen er kindt[22] ſelig werden/vnd in diſem kŏſtlichen namẽ ſind[37] ir getaufft/vnd den geiſt Chriſtj zum ſigl/vnd botſchafft empfang[en$_3$] vnd zu einer gwiſſen ergreiffung[38] des ewig[en$_3$] lebens [418r] Darumb ir meine geliebte/ Weil ir dann ſolches wiſſt/Nemlich dz ir dz pfanndt vnd ſigl empfangen habt/zum ewigen erb/ſo bit ich euch durch die Barmhertzigkeit vnſers Herren Jeſu Chriſtj/ir wellent[23] ſolches woll zu hertzen Nemenn/Vnnd nit faul verdroſſen oder ſchläffrig werdenn/ir welent[23] auch des herren wort groß vnd hoch achten/vnnd eur hertz rain behalten/vnd den kŏſtlichen ſamen laſſen ein gepflantzt ſein/ in ein gueten acker/vnd ſeit gleich den thierlein die geſpaltne kleien[39] haben/Vnd wider Keuet/alſo auch ir/auff dz wen ir an diß ort Kumbt/dz ich verſuecht[40] hab/dz ir daran gedenckt/dz ir vom teüffel verſuecht werdent[23]/im ſeine gŏt[41] an zue beten/Das ir herfur habt[42] [418v] zu ziehen/vnnd ſprechendt[29]/Es ſteet geſchriben/Du ſolt[43] got deinen herren allein anbeten/vnd im allein dienen/alſo ſolt ir dem teüffel widerſtandt thun im glauben/ſo fleucht[44] er vonn euch/O Geſchwiſtriget/Jch vermã vnd bit euch/in Bruederlicher treu/vnd durch die zuekunfft[45] vnſers Herren Jeſu Chriſtj/Vnd durch die erſcheinung an ſeinem groſſenn tag/der doch nit ferr iſt/ir wellet dem ſathann vnd ſeinen ſchalckhafftigen kindern/die Ohren nit bieten/Denn ich hab ſeine lüſtige tück erkennt/vnnd verſuechet[40]/Ich waiß vnd got iſt mein zeug/welche in zue hörẽ/der ſelben beſteet Keins/Nit hört ſie/lauf er vmb gotes willen/bleibt in dem dz ir gelernet[35] ſeit/dann [419r] dann[34] ſie Kunen[22] euch die warheit nit ſagen/Sie ſeind[37] lugner/vnd der blindenn Blinde fuerer/vnd des Sathans knecht/welche werden erben denn feurigen

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35. MHG *lernen* (besides the correct *lêren*) 'lehren; to teach'
36. MHG *büegen* 'beugen; to bow' [Bavarian
37. MHG *sint* '(ihr) seid' ; *ir seind(t)* has been used since the 15th century in
38. MHG *ergrîfunge* 'Erlangung; obtainment'
39. dialectic variation of modern *Klauen* 'hoofs'
40. MHG *versuochen* 'besuchen; erfahren; untersuchen; to become acquainted with; experience; concern oneself with'
41. MHG *göte* (pl.), here with apocope of *e*, 'Götter; gods'
42. EaNHG, 'vorhaben; to intend'
43. MHG *du solt* 'du sollst'
44. cf. MHG *vliehen* 'fliehen; to flee'
45. MHG *zuokunft* 'Herabkunft; coming'

teich/Vnd alle die in nachuolgen/Ich heut[46] euch gar vil zu ſchreiben/auff dz ich euch ein wenig Erinret/vnd ermanet vor dem lüſtig[en3][47] anlauff/des teüffels/Ich hoff aber zu Got ir ſind[37] wol vergwiſſt[48] in dem Heiligē geiſt/vnd ſolt nun ſchir[49] erkennen wz der teüffel kann/ [17]

Darumb ir Hertzliebē kindlein/vnnd auſerwelten berueffnen Heiligē. Dz iſt mein Hertzlich bit vnd begerē/an euch/ir welt euren fromen vnd treuen Dienern die euch der Herr hat furgeſtelt/gehorſam vnd vnderthan [419v] ſein/Vnnd die ſelben fleiſſigclich Hŏren/vnnd nit als menſchen wort ſonder als gottes wort/Dann der Herr redet durch ſie/als durch ſein werckzeug. die ſagen euch die warheit/Dan ſie mueſſen rechenſchafft geben fur eure ſeelen/ Werd ir inen nit volgen. vnd werdet alſo vmbkomen [16] ſo wirt eur Bluet auff eurem Kopff bleiben/Wen ſie euch aber vor dem v̆bel warnen/vnd ir werd alſo/vmbkomen/ſo wirt dz bluet von iren henden erfordret werden/Vnnd doch wirt euer Bluet auff eurē kopff bleibenn/

*Darumb ir meine her*tzlieben/dieweil ir denn ſolches wiſſet/Nemlich dz [420r] die zeit geferlich iſt/ſo ſehe ein ieder auff denn andeř/in der lieb/vnd ſeit fridſam vñ Bruederlich vnnder ein and[er6]/

Ir diener vnd Eltiſten/Ich erman euch durch dj Baŕhertzigkeit gottes/die euch geb[en5] iſt/ir welt[21] der Herdt vorgoen[50] in aller redligkeit/vnd euch zum Vor/bilt ſtellen. in allenn Heiligē wercken/ wie ir dan[34] noch alle zeit than habt/auff dz die lugner die ietzundt alles bŏß von euch reden/zu ſchanden werden/Wenn es kumbt an den tag/do alle ding offenbar werden/Jetzundt nit mer/dan der lieb Jeſu Chriſtj. Welches iſt die gemain Chriſtj/ſoll erhalten werden/Heilig vnd [420v][51] vnſträfflich/biß auff den groſſen tag/ vnd Ewigclich Amen.

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46. *het*: this form of the 1. pers. sgl. pres. indic. (= 'ich hatte') developed from older *hebete* through contraction

heut: this is the correct reading since the *u* has the diacritic [˘]; 1. pers. sgl. conj. pret., 'ich hätte', apparently from the upper German form *heit(e)* with false rounding.

47. 'listig', here with false rounding of *i* to *ü*

48. MHG *vergewissen*, wk., 'versichern; to assure (of)'

49. MHG *schier* 'bald, in kurzer Zeit; soon, shortly'

50. MHG *vorgân*, here with the upper German darkening of *â* to *ô*, 'vorangehen; to precede, go in front of'

51. The folio number [421] is omitted in the pagination. There is no interruption in the text.

*Meine hertzlieben brü*eder/vnd ſchweſtern in dem Herren/Ir wiſſent dz ich nit ſchreiben kann/darzue bin ich Kleines verſtandts. Jedoch hat mich die lieb dohin[52] triben/dz ich euch ein wenig geſchrieben hab/auff dz ir wiſſet euch zu bewaren/ich wil euch gebeten haben/vmb d[er$_6$] Liebe gotes willen/Jr wellet meinen ainfaltigen verſtand nit verachten/ich habs euch gethonn[53]/auß hertzlicher lieb/Jch hets euch gern baß[54] vnd Klerlicher geſchriben/ſo Kan ichs ie[55] nit/Dann wan ich ein wort ſetz[56]/ſo vergiß ich dz ander/ich laß euch auch wiſſen/wie ich mich hertzlich erfreudt hab/eurs [422r] ſchreibens vnd eur Lieb/die ir zu mir Vnnd allen Heilligen habt/dz ich nit auffhör zu dancken vnſrem himliſchen vatter/vmb ſein groſſe lieb/Damit er vnns geliebt hat/Darumb ir meine Hertzlieben vnnd auſerweltẽ/wie kan ich euch doch nur verhalt[en$_1$][57]/ die groſſe freüd die ich in meinem hertzen hab/Wenn ich gedenck der fromen ritter gottes/die ſo manlich geſtritten haben für die warheit gottes/darum [er][58] ſie auch ann Jenem tag/wirt bekrönen/mit einer vnzergencklichen vnd herrlichen Chron/Herwiderümb ſchreib ich euch ein groſſen truebſal vnnd Hertzenlaidt/mit vil Wainen vnd trähern[59]/got waiß wie ich ſchmertzen gehabt hab/auswendig inn meinem fle-[422v]-iſch[60]/auch Innwendig/vonn denen die alſo[61] den Herren Widerum Chreutzigen/ſchandt vnd laſter erzeigen/wie dan diſe ſchweſter auch thonn[53] hat/dz es got in ewigkeit ſei geklagt/dz des Herrenn wort ir[62] villen alſo nicht[63] gilt/Dann ich hab diſe ſchweſter ſo treulich vermant/ſie ſol dem teuffl nit loſen[30]/noch[64] hat ſie der verfluechten ſchlangen die Ohren geboten/das Klag ich aber vonn hertzen gott/dann[34] ich bin abermals in trauren/ich hoff aber der Herr werdt es in Kurtz von mir Nem̃en/

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52. MHG *dô* 'da, dort; there'
53. upper German darkening of *a* to *o*: *gethan* to *gethon(n)*
54. MHG *baz,* comparative of the adverb *wol,* 'besser; better'
55. MHG *ie* 'immer; always'; here for emphasis of the following *nit*
56. MHG *setzen* 'niederschreiben; to put down in writing'
57. MHG *verhalten* 'vorenthalten, zurückhalten; to keep from, conceal'
58. omitted in the text
59. MHG *treher* 'Träne; tear'
60. MHG, (as set over against the spiritual:) 'das Körperliche; the physical, corporeal'; before *fleisch,* the word *hertzen* is struck out
61. MHG *alsô* 'so, derartig; thus'
62. MHG *ir,* gen. pl., 'ihrer'
63. MHG *niht,* pronominal, 'nichts; nothing'
64. MHG *noch* 'doch, dennoch; yet, nevertheless'

Meine Hertzlieben Ich bit euch auch vmb gotes willen/Jr wellent[23] mir vnd auch diſen Bruedern/helffen kempffen/mit eurem fur gebet[65]/zu got [423r] vnſerm Himliſchen vattern/dz er vns welle beiſteen vnd vns erhalten bis ann dz enndt/mit ſambt allen heiligen/ Ewigclichen[66]/Amen/[23]

Ir Eltiſten ſeit von mir/treulich vonn hertzen gegrüeſſt/Mit dem Heiligen vnnd Inerlich[en1] fridt gotes/mit ſambt allenn heilligen die bei euch ſein/Es grüeſſen euch die Brüed[er6] dj bei mir ſeindt[37]/Grüſſend[28] euch vndereinander/mit der[67] Kuß der liebe/ Auch grueß mir denn Jacob Huetter/Denn Hanß Amon/vnd Brueder Kuentzen/mit ſambt iren Eelich[en1] ſchweſtern/in dem Herren/Nit mer dan[34] die gnad vnd Crafft des heilligen geiſts/ſei mit euch vnd vns allen [423v] Ewigclichen[55] Amenn/[23]

Geſand von
Stertzing vnd
Geſchriben

Jm .1532 Jar.

Letter III

Only meager biographical information about Ludwig Fest is extant. His native village was Pinnegg according to the few records in the Tirol archives (cf. Beck, *Fontes,* p. 107, Note 1). He was taken prisoner near Schwaz in 1533 and ultimately beheaded (July 3, 1533).

Beck, *ibid.*, and Hege-Neff, *Mennonitisches Lexikon* 1:642 (1924), Art. "Fest" by J. Loserth, mention Schwaz as the place of writing of the present letter. *Cod.* I.87708, from which Letter III is transcribed, clearly (but wrongly?) states *Lintz.*

[197v]*Die vätterlich vnnd* ewig güet Gottes/vnſers himliſchen vaters vnd ſein vnaüſſprechliche Gnadt vnd barmhertzigkait/mere ſich bei euch allen ewigklichen[1] Amen.

Gebenedeit ſeÿ got vnſer himliſch[er6] vatter/der vnns hat nach ſeiner Groſſen Gnadt vnd barmhertzigkait/widerumb geboren zu ainer Lebentigen hoffnung/welche behalten[2] iſt im himel auff euch/ [198r] die denn offenbar wirt an ſeinẽ groſſen offenbarlichen tag/ Weñ komen wirt ſein allerliebſter ſon/vnſer Herr Jeſus Chriſtus

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65. EaNHG, 'Fürbitte; intercessory prayer'
66. MHG adverbial ending *-lichen*
67. instead of the correct form *dem*
1. MHG adverbial ending *-lichen*
2. MHG behalten 'aufbewahren für; to keep for'

der vnns erledigt vnnd erlöſt hat/nit vmb ſilber oder Gollt/ſonder mit ſeinem Koſtbarlichen bluet/Der halben meine hertzliebſten gſchwiſtriget[3]/Grüeß ich euch in heilliger vnnd Göttlicher Lieb mit dem ewigen fridt Gottes zuuil hundert tauſent mal mit dem Kuß Jeſu Chriſtj/vnnd alle himliſche Gaaben vnnd tugenden des hailligen geiſts/mere ſich bei euch/vnnd allen denen/die den namen des herren vnſers gotes von rainẽ hertzen anrüeffen im guetten [198v] Gewiſſen im geiſt vnd in der warhait

Nun aber ir Lieben geſchwiſtriget/will ich euch mein hertz offenbaren/wie es vmb mich ſteet/nemlich wol im herren/Der ſej von Hertzen gepreiſt[4]/Lieber Brueder mathes/vnnd ir aufſerwelten heilligen in dem Leib Jeſu Chriſt/Ir Kinder des allerhöchſten/Mein hertz iſt mir frei vor gott/vnnſerm himliſchẽ vatter von allen Creaturen/nicht deſt weniger Bitet Gott den allmechtigen von hertzen für mich/vnnd alle ſeine gebundne vnd gefanngne/Deßgleichen will ich auch den herren vonn [199r] hertzen für euch biten tag vnd nacht/das er vnns wöll behüeten vnnd bewaren in ſeiner ewigen warhait/darinen er vnns geheilliget hat zu ainer ewigen Hoffnung/Auch ermane ich euch aus hertzlicher Lieb/durch die Barmhertzigkait Gotes/Ir wöllent[5] nit wider oder vnnder einander murren/Vnnd wöllent[5] auch nit aigennützig ſein/Vnder ein ander/Denn der Geitz alles vbels ein wurtzel vnnd anfang Iſt/

Nun ir meine hertzlieben Gſchwiſtriget/Die ir eelich[6] Seit/Ich bit euch/Ir wöllet ein ander nit belaidigen[7]/Denn wenn euch der herr in die prob ſtellt/ſo [199v] wirt es euch erſt druckhen/Ja ir lieben/es wer nit wunder/das es einem ſein Hertz abtruckhet/Darumb bit ich euch/Ir wöllet ein annder nit betrüeben/vmb der Barmhertzigkait gottes willen/Weiter ir Lieben im herren/wollt ich euch gern mer geſchriben haben/So kan ichs nit/vnnd bin nit gſchickht zu ſchreib[en5] mit feder vnnd dinten[8]/Mein Hertz ſej aber euer Brüef/vnnd euer ſigel an diſem Brief/den ich kan ie nit wol ſchreiben/vnd iſt in der Keichen[9] finſter/Darzue mueß ich auch auf den ſchinckhen[10]

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3. MHG *geswistergit* 'Geschwister; sisters and brethren'
4. MHG *prîsen*, wk., 'preisen; to praise, laud'
5. cf. Letter II, Footnote 23
6. MHG *êlich* 'ehelich, verheiratet; married'
7. MHG *beleidigen* 'betrüben, Leid verursachen; to cause unhappiness'
8. MHG *tinte*, wk. fem., here dat. sgl., 'mit Tinte, with ink'
9. MHG *kîche*, wk. fem., 'Ort, der einem den Atem hemmt (cf. MHG *kîchen* 'keuchen'); Gefängnis; prison'
10. MHG *schinke* '(Ober)schenkel; thigh'

ſchreiben/Vnnd der Herr hat mich Alſo gar wol in die prob geſtellt/[200r] vnnder des gottloß geſchlecht/wen ich zum vatter bitten wil/ſo heben ſie an zu ſingen vnnd zu ſpotten/Aber gott mein vnnd euer himliſcher vatter/wirt das gebeet der heilligen erhören/ vnnd wirt mich erledigen/durch ſein gnadt vnnd Barmhertzigkait/ durch Jeſum Chriſtum unſerm erlöſer/

Mein Lieber Brueder Mathes vnd mein Aigen Hertz/Grüß mir alle gſchwiſtriget mit dem fridt Gottes/vnnd mit dem Kuß Jeſu Chriſtj/In vngefelſchter Brüederlicher Lieb/aus Rainem Hertzen vnd guetem gwiſſ[en$_5$] Sonderlich aber den Brueder [200v] Offruſen[11]/Vnnd den Brueder Hannß/dienner in der notturfft/vnnd ſein eeliche ſchweſter/Auch die Prählin. March Böckhin[12]/Gredel von mitem wald[13] vnd Andl Auch den Hännſel Taurer/Marthin ſparber/Erhard niderhoffer/vnnd alle Kindter Gottes dazue du Kombſt/Auch darzue alle heilligen Im Etſchlandt/Sonderlich Brueder hanß den dienner gotes vnnd ſeiner Gmain/vnnd ſein Eeliche ſchweſter/Auch den valtin dienner in der Notturfft/vnd ſein eeliche ſchweſter Tillga/Deßgleichen auch den Bärtl ſchneider/vnnd Paul Rüemer. Vnnd alle Kindlen gotes/Die da warten [201r] auff die ZuKunfft[14] vnnſers Herren Jeſu Chriſti/Damit befilch ich euch ir meine Hertzlieben gſchwiſtriget/dem treuen Ertzhierten Chriſto Jeſu/vnnd alſo verhoff ich mit der hilff vnd Krafft gotes/meines himliſchen vatters treu zu ſein/Darumb habent^5 ein guete zeucknus zu mir/Vnnd alſo ir geliebten vermere ſich der fridt des ewigen vatters/Inn vnnd bej euch allen/Vnd Gottes Geiſt ſej mit eurem Geiſt/durch Jeſum Chriſtum Amen

Geen Rotenburg geſenndt
vonn Lintz/:·

[To be continued]

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11. Onophrius (Offerus, Offrus) Griesinger, a Bavarian from Fraszdorf, who had joined the Hutterians in 1532. The region of his missionary activities was Tirol (Weiszenbach in the valley of the Sarn, later the valleys of the Inn and Puster Rivers); cf. Hege-Neff, *Mennonitisches Lexikon* II:174 (1928), Art. "Griesinger" by J. Loserth.

12. Marbeckin, i. e., Pilgram Marbeck's wife Anna; cf. Hege-Neff, *op. cit.*, III:25 (1938), Art. "Marbeck" by J. Loserth; John C. Wenger, "The Life and Work of Pilgram Marpeck", in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* XII: 144 (July, 1938), and the same author, "Pilgram Marpeck, Tyrolese Engineer and Anabaptist Elder" in *Church History,* March, 1940.

13. Mittenwald

14. MHG *zuokunft* 'das Herannahen, das Kommen; the coming'

AMISH SERVICE MANUALS

John Umble

The casual visitor at an Amish church service is likely to feel that its informality indicates lack of system. Such, however, is not the case. Amish ministers have a list of scriptures which they follow throughout the year. This may vary slightly in different communities. The first list printed below is copied from a manuscript in the possession of D. B. Swartzendruber of Kalona, Iowa. The Amish in northern Indiana have a similar list. The latter was printed as a small booklet by the Mennonite Publishing Company of Elkhart, Indiana, in 1913. The title of this little booklet is *Ein Register/ von/ Liedern und Schriften/ die in den Amischen Gemeinden/ gebraucht werden/ Gedruckt von der/ Mennonite Publishing Company/ Elkhart Indiana/ 1913.* This booklet has long been out of print and the few remaining copies are badly worn. A new edition is needed. The late Noah Bender, *Vorsänger* for one of the Clinton Amish congregations, wrote the list out in long hand for the younger song leaders of his acquaintance. The list indicates two scriptures for each service or for each Sunday. The third list is copied from Raber's Almanac and is used in most Amish congregations in Ohio.

At the beginning of an Amish church service, the ministers are usually in another room conferring on various church matters, and deciding which of the ministers shall perform the various parts of the service. While the ministers are still in council (*Abrath,* pronounced ŏp-rōte) the congregation begins singing. The first hymn is selected by the leader (*Vorsänger*) ; the second is always the *Lobgesang,* page 770 of the *Ausbund.* There is no further singing in the service until after the benediction. At that time the congregation sings the third hymn or part of a hymn. If the ministers return from the *Abrath* before the conclusion of the *Lobgesang,* the service may begin at once. In northern Indiana the service begins when the ministers return even if only two stanzas of the *Lobgesang* have been sung. If for any reason the ministers are detained in council longer than usual, some *Vorsänger* may announce another hymn after the singing of the *Lobgesang.* The congregation then sings stanza after stanza until the ministers file in to begin the service.

Not only do the Amish have a regular list of scriptures which they read throughout the year and repeat from year to year, but they also have a list of hymns considered suitable to be sung in connection with each scripture reading. The first list of scriptures printed below is that in use by the Amish churches in Iowa. The second is in use among the churches of northern Indiana. The second list contains both the chapters and the hymns to be sung in connection with each particular service. The Amish *Vorsänger* have an interesting way of announcing the first hymn. The leading *Vorsänger* is custodian of the hymn books, the *Ausbund,* which the congregation owns. At the end of a service he gathers up the books, packs them in a suitcase or box prepared for the purpose and takes them home with him. When he brings them to meeting two weeks later, each book contains a piece of yarn marking the first hymn to be sung in the service. Each member understands that the second hymn will be the *Loblied,* as the Amish in northern Indiana call the *Lobgesang.* Any subsequent hymns used in the service are announced, not by the number of the hymn, but by the page number on which the hymn begins. "Number 591, Vers 14 and 15" would mean the hymn beginning on page 591, that is No. 107, stanzas 14 and 15, which occur on pages 595 and 596 respectively.

Amish in the vicinity of Kalona, Iowa, no longer use the *Ausbund.* When the Old Order Amish hymns were recorded at that place in 1939, some of the members of the group which sang the hymns used S. D. Guengerich's *Unparteiische Lieder-Sammlung, Revidirt und Vermehrt.* But the leader of the group, John J. Miller, the aged Amish *Vorsänger* of the Kalona Amish congregation, used only Baer's hymnal, announced the hymns from that book and left the other members to find the numbers as best they could. He seemed to hold the Guengerich hymnal in slight regard.

Following is a copy of the Iowa service manual in the possession of D. B. Swartzendruber, Kalona, Iowa.

Ein verzeichnisz der Schriften

So wie sie bei uns, des Jahres hindurch gelesen werden,

Paulus spricht: Alle Schriften von Gott eingegeben, is nütze zur Lehre, zur Strafe, Zur Besserung, zur Züchtigung in der Gerechtigkeit, dasz ein Mensch Gottes sei Vollkommen, zu allem guten Werk geschickt. Tim. 3, 16. Darum sollte das nachgehende nicht als eine Regel angesehen werden, davon man nicht abweichen dürfe, sondern man darf nach belieben und Umständen auch andre Schriften inzwischen lesen.

Auf Christag liest man gerne Luc. 1 und 2 Kapitel; — darnach Matt. 2 und 3; — 4 und 5; — 6 und 7; — 8 und 9; so wie es die Zeit und Umständen erlauben. Wenn auf Ostern kein Abendmahl gehalten wird so liest man da Matt. 26 und 27 Kapitel.

Bei der Ordnungs-Gemeinde liest man Matt. 18 und 1. Kor. 5; Beim abendmahl liest man Luc. 22. bis Vers 32. I Kor. 10 bis Vers 24, I Kor. 11, den ersten Vers dann von Vers 17 bis Ende, Joh. 6 von vers 48 bis Ende, und Joh. 13 bis vers 17.

Bei der Taufe, oder auch sonst, jedesmal vor der Ordnungs-Gemeinde redet man gerne von der Wiedergeburt und liest Joh. 3 und Röm. 6. Jedesmal nach dem Abendmahl Redet man gerne von der Herrlichen Freiheit der Kinder Gottes, die sie haben in Christo, und liest dabei Joh. 8 und Gal. 5. oder Röm. 8 — Oder man kann auch reden von der Beständigkeit im Glauben und Heb. 12 und 13 Lesen.

Die Pfingst Schriften sind Apg. 1 und 2; — 3 und 4; — 5 und 6;

Die Sämann Schriften sind Matt. 13 und Joh. 15, — Die Ernte Schriften sind Joh. 4 und Off. 14. Die einsammlungs Schriften sind Luc. 12 und 13 — 14 und 16. — 17 und 18. — 19 und Röm. 12. Oder Ephes. 4.

Folgende werden die zwischen-Schriften genannt und können irgendwo inzwischen genommen werden wo es sich paszen will. Joh. 14 und Ephes. 4, oder 6. — Joh. 14. und 1 Thes. 5; Joh. 16 und 17; Oder Joh. 17 und 1 Kor. 13; — 1 Joh. 1 und 2; — 1 Joh. 3 und 4. — 1. Pet. 1 und 2; — 1 Pet. 3 und 4. — Mar. 7. und Ephes. 6. Gegen dem Ende des Jahres redet man gerne vom Ende der Welt und liest Matt. 24 und 25.

Bei der Kopulation liest man, Matt. 19, bis Vers 11. und i Kor. 7. und Ephes. 5. von Vers 15 bis Ende. Bei der Aufnahme eines gefallenen Gliedes liest man Luc. 15. oder ein Theil davon. oder auch 2 Kor, 2. bis Vers 12.

TRANSLATION OF THE IOWA SERVICE MANUAL

A List of Scriptures
as they are read among us during the year

Paul says: All scripture inspired of God is profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, fitted for every good work. [II] Tim. 3:16. Therefore the following should not be regarded as a rule from which one dare not deviate, but in between one may read other scriptures according to circumstances. At Christmas one likes to read Luke 1 and 2; — afterward Matthew 2 and 3; — 4 and 5; — 6 and 7; — 8 and 9; as time and circumstances permit. Whenever the communion service is not held on Easter Sunday one reads Matthew 26 and 27 at that time.

In connection with the council meeting one likes to read Matthew 18 and I Cor. 5; in connection with communion one reads Luke 22 to verse 32; I Cor. 10 to verse 24; I Cor. 11, the first verse, then from verse 17 to the end; John 6 from verse 48 to the end; and John 13 to verse 17.

In connection with the baptismal service or at other times also, each time before the council meeting, one likes to speak of the new birth and reads John 3 and Romans 6. After each communion one likes to speak of the glorious freedom of the children of God which they have in Christ

and reads therewith John 8 and Gal. 5 or Romans 8. Or one can also speak of steadfastness in the faith and read Hebrews 12 and 13.

The Pentecost scriptures are Acts 1 and 2; — 3 and 4; — 5 and 6.

The Sower chapters are Matthew 13 and John 15, — the Harvest scriptures are John 4 and Revelation 14. The ingathering scriptures are Luke 12 and 13; — 14 and 16; — 17 and 18; — 19 and Rom. 12 or Ephesians 4.

The following are called the miscellaneous scriptures and can be used anywhere in between where it is fitting. John 14 and Eph. 4 or 6; — John 14 and I Thes. 5; — John 16 and 17; — or John 17 and I Cor. 13; — I John 1 and 2; — I John 3 and 4; — I Peter 1 and 2; — I Peter 3 and 4; — Mark 7 and Eph. 6. Toward the end of the year one likes to preach of the end of the world and reads Matthew 24 and 25. In connection with the marriage service one reads Matthew 19 to verse 11 and I Cor. 7 and Ephesians 5 from verse 15 to the end. At the restoration of a fallen member one reads Luke 15 or a part of it or also II Cor. 2 to verse 12.

Northern Indiana Service Manual

[Translated from the German]

	First Hymn	Loblied	Closing Hymn
Christmas, Luke 1 and 2	385	"	591, 14 & 15
Matt. 2 and 3	604	"	393 or 738, 57
Matt. 4 and 5	623	"	789
Matt. 6 and 7	563	"	445, v. 6 & 7
Matt. 8 and 9	492	"	512 or 786
Matt. 10 and 11	316	"	46,
Matt. 13 and John 15	265	"	655, stanzas 18 and 19.
Easter, Matt. 26 and 27	481	"	385, 25 and 26
Baptism, John 3 and Rom. 6	359	"	408, 3 or 4 stanzas
Ordnungs-Gemeinde, Matt. 18 and I Cor. 5	310	"	666, 453 (in afternoon)
Abendmahl, Luke 22, 1-32 and Cor. 10:1-24	449	"	302 (Forenoon)
(stanzas 8 and 9)	411	"	692 (afternoon)
The congregation continues singing stanzas of 692 until all have washed feet.			
Acts 1 and 2	217	Loblied	35
Die Freiheits Schriften, John 8 and Gal. 5	340	"	35 or some other hymn.
die Ernte, John 4 and Rev. 14	683	"	452
Einsammlung, Luke 12 and 13	706	"	492, v. 25 & 26
Luke 14 and 16	512	"	706, v. 12 and 13
Luke 17 and 18	492	"	411
Luke 19 and Eph. 4	316	"	115, v. 4 and 5.
Again Baptism Scriptures — Fall			
John 10 and I Thess. 5 or I Cor. 15 Any hymns			
New Birth Scriptures just as in the spring.			
Counsel Meeting and Communion follow in order as in Spring			
Heb. 11 & 12	411	Loblied	649 or 393
John 14 and Rom. 5	663	"	any hymn — 393 if not sung on preceding Sunday.
Matt. 24 and 25	554	"	35, v. 30-33

When the Amish receive a fallen member, this part of the service is held after the presiding minister speaks the words at the close of the Sunday morning meeting: "The brethren and sisters will remain seated." All those who have attended Amish services realize that this is the polite way for dismissing non-members. After all the non-members have left the house, the minister in charge reads Luke 15:1-24 and follows with the questions which constitute the regular form for receiving the member who has been placed under the ban. This part of the service then closes with the singing of No. 520, stanzas 31 and 32; that is, stanzas 31 and 32, of Hymn 99 which begins on page 520, of the *Ausbund*.

An Ohio Service Manual

Der Neue Amerikanische Calendar published by Johann Räber, Baltic, Ohio, contains the scriptures to be read and hymns to be sung at the Amish church service. Whenever the month has five Sundays, Räber gives the hymns and scriptures for three services. With his list of the scriptures to be read, Räber gives two lists of hymns, one from the *Ausbund,* the other from *Baer.*

With the scriptures and hymns for each Sunday, the calendar leaves space to write in the name of the family at whose home services were held, the name of the minister who conducted the devotional exercises (consisting of exhortation and silent prayer — the audience kneeling) and read the first of the two chapters listed (audience standing), the name of the minister who preached the sermon (in connection with the reading or reciting from memory of the second chapter), and the time of closing or of the congregation's leaving for home. In the 1939 calendar Räber lists the material in the following manner for each month, apparently listing the Scripture readings and hymns which had been used during the preceding year:

Schriften und Lieder für 1938

Jan., den _____, Matthäus, Kap. 2 und 3. Lieder, Ausbund, 604, 481, 716, Vers 14.
Baer, 63, 294, 131.
Gemeinde an _____
Einleitung _____
Schrift _____
Abschied _____
Jan., den _____, Matthäus, Kap. 4 und 5. Lieder, Ausbund, 623, 802, 324, Vers 4.
Baer 75, 183, 214.
Gemeinde an _____
Einleitung _____
Schrift _____
Abschied _____

The scriptures and hymns used during the remainder of the year 1938 are listed by Raber in his 1939 Almanac as follows:

Feb., den _____, Matthäus, Kap. 6 und 7. Lieder, Ausbund, 563, 404, 445, und 6, Vers 7.

Baer, 270, 186, 156.

Feb., den _____, Matthäus, Kap. 8 und 9. Lieder, Ausbund, 512, 492, 789.

Baer, 43, 2, 115, 235, 98.

März, den _____, Matthäus, Kap. 10 und 11. Lieder, Ausbund, 46, 341, 205 und 683, Vers 7.

Baer, 135, 273, 46, 95, Vers 8.

März, den _____, Matthäus, Kap. 12 und 14. Lieder, Ausbund, 278, 316, 692, Vers 18.

Baer, 46, 35, 57, 259.

März, den _____, Sämann-Schriften, Matthäus 13 und Joh. 15. Lieder, Ausbund, 265, 348, 655, Vers 18.

Baer, 46, 43, 18, 12.

April, den _____, Neugeburt oder Taufschriften. Joh. 3 und Römer, 6. Kap., Lieder, Ausbund, 604, 359, 408.

Baer, 232, 9, 101, 99, 19, 68, 63 Vers 17.

April, den _____, Ostern-Schriften. Matthäus 26 und 27. Lieder, 700, 445, 385, Vers 25.

Baer, 21, 43, 10.

April, den _____, Ordnungschrift. Matthäus 18 und 1. Kor., 5. Kap., Lieder, 310, 666, 453, 254, Vers 11.

Baer, 37, 269, 273.

Mai, den _____, Lukas, Kap. 22 bis Vers 33; I Kor. 10, bis Vers 25; I. Kor. 11, Vers 2, dann vom 17. Vers bis ans Ende; dann Joh., Kap. 6, vom 48. Vers bis zum Ende des Kapitels; dann John., Kap. 13, vom 1., bis zum 17. Vers. Lieder, 481, 302, 449, 411, den 8. und 9. Vers, 692.

Baer, 141, 294, 2 Vers 8. u. 9., 69, 110.

Juni den _____, Joh. 8 und Gal. 5. Ausbund, 460, 341, 5, 205 Vers 4.

Baer, 9, 78, 30, 295.

Juni, den _____ Pfingstschrift, Apostelgeschichte, Kap. 1 und 2., Lieder, 341, 5, 348, 217, Vers 4.

Baer, 137, 12, 163, 78, 153.

Juni, den _____, Joh. 14 und Röm. 8 oder I. Thess. 5. Lieder, 205, 700, 733, 57, Vers.

Baer, 324, 50, 256, 139, 57.

Juli, den _____, Ernteschrift. Joh. 4 und Offenbarung 14. Lieder, Seite 201, 460, 706, 452.

Baer, 46, 216, 12, 73, 308, 18.

Juli, den _____, Einsammlungs-Schriften. Lukas, Kap. 12 und 13. Lieder, Seite 706, 492, 700, 492, Vers 25.

Baer 308, 273 Vers 12.

Juli, den _____, Lukas, Kap. 14 und 16. Lieder, Seite 489, 393, 706, Vers 12.

Aug., den _____, Lukas, Kap. 17 und 18. Lieder, Seite 766, 492, 3, 411, und 572.

Baer, 40, 2, 122 Vers 18.
Aug., den _____, Luk. 10 und 1. Kor., 13. Kap. Lieder, 700, 453, 314, 115, 4. Vers.
Baer, 324, 57, 269.
Sept., den _____, Matth. 12 und 14. Ausbund 46, 341, 205, 683 Vers 7.
Baer, 46, 43, 18, 12.
Sept., den _____, Neugeburt. (Siehe April).
Sept., den _____, Ordnungs-Schrift. (Siehe April.)
Okt., den _____, Liebesmahl. (Siehe Mai.)
Okt., den _____, Ebräer, Kap. 11 und 12. Lieder, Seite 5, 209, 341, 284.
Baer, 2, 246, 23.
Nov., den _____, Joh. 17 und Eph., 4 oder Röm. 12. Kap. Lieder, Seite 4, 530, 278, 35, 115 am 4. Vers.
Baer, 50, 256, 177.
Nov., den _____, Jacobi, Kap. 2 und 3. Lieder, 530, 393, 115 am 4. Vers.
Dez., den _____, Welt-Ende-Schriften. Matthäus, Kap. 24 und 25. Lieder, Seite 554, 649, 35, am 30. Vers; 95 am 29. Vers; 492.
Baer, 30, 63, 246, 12, 92.
Dez., den _____, Christtag-Schriften. Lukas 1 und 2. Lieder 385 und 591 am 14 Vers.
Baer, 101, 158, 292.

A comparison of these three service books reveals some interesting differences and equally interesting agreement in the practice of the Iowa, Indiana, and Ohio Amish congregations. Both the Iowa and Indiana lists begin the year at Christmas and both agree in the main. But the Indiana list provides less opportunity for variation. Instead of allowing variant readings for the sixth Sunday, the Indiana list prescribes Matthew 10 and 11. The Indiana list also omits Acts 3 and 4, 5 and 6, for the second and third Sunday after communion. It also omits Rom. 12 as a substitute for Eph. 4 on the fourth harvest Sunday. Finally the Indiana list omits entirely the "in-between Scriptures" mentioned in the last paragraph but one of the Iowa list.

The Ohio list, like the Indiana list, includes Matthew 10 and 11, but follows on the next Sunday with Matthew 12 and 14. Then it agrees with both the others through the third harvest Sunday. Here it substitutes Luke 10 and I Cor. 13 for Luke 19 and Ephesians 4 (or Rom. 12). Then the Ohio list once more agrees with the other two except that it substitutes Matthew 12 and 14 on one Sunday in September, Hebrews 11 and 12 on one Sunday in October, John 17 and Ephesians 4 or Romans 12 the first Sunday in November and James 2 and 3 the second Sunday.

SPIRITUAL CHANGES IN EUROPEAN MENNONITISM, 1650–1750

[An Appendix to "Anabaptism and Pietism"]

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

The interest of our study[1] has thus far been focused on the fate and attitude of the Swiss Anabaptists and, to a minor extent, the Hutterites. Although these groups almost died out in Europe, their faith found a certain continuation outside their direct descendants, though with somewhat different spirit, in seventeenth and eighteenth century Pietism both within and without the Protestant state churches.

Anabaptism in Holland and the Rhineland, however, developed in a notably different direction. Led by Menno Simons, the Dutch Brethren gradually became a strong and numerous group, and after a hard but relatively short period of persecution, were generally tolerated by the state authorities. This was followed by a quieter development toward urban respectability and wealth. Dutch Mennonitism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was no longer the dynamic church of Menno Simons' day, and ceased to manifest "radicalism" of any shade whatever like the early Swiss and Dutch Anabaptists who were consciously and definitely opposed to the "mouth or name Christians" of traditional Protestantism. By gradual adjustment to their environment their original character was slowly and unconsciously changed.

There were several reasons for this change. The first one is a sociological reason, the influence of urban life. Genuine original Anabaptism had spread chiefly among the rural population, as is still so largely the case among the Mennonites of America. The second reason is the religious toleration in the Netherlands and the atmosphere of freedom and liberalism which prevailed there. Thus the Mennonite Church of Holland was neither a suffering church, like that of Grebel[1a], nor a fighting one, like that of Menno Simons, but

1. "Anabaptism and Pietism", *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XIV, April and July, 1940.

1a. See H. S. Bender, "The Theology of Conrad Grebel," *Menn. Quart. Rev.* XII, 1938, pp. 42, 125, 129.

one which was primarily concerned with building up its internal congregational life. Its ideals of toleration and democracy (brotherhood) fitted well into the general trend of the time. As a final reason, one ought not to overlook the fact that Calvinism as a whole—especially in Holland and England—has some similarity to the ideals of Anabaptism, e. g., believers' church, democracy, discipline, and so on, so that a kind of mutual adaptation was natural. (Probably this is also the reason why England never had Anabaptism of the continental pattern).

The Mennonite Church in Holland in the eighteenth century was in full transition, although outwardly it maintained loyalty to its heritage and entered no merger with the state church, which also on its part was no longer conservative but open to manifold influences. Thus pseudo-forms became possible under old headings. The Mennonites were no longer the little flock aloof from the world and strangers in it, but gladly co-operating with the world in any community. On the other hand the general population was no longer interested in an orthodox state church but rather either in a rational enlightenment or in the private and emotional piety of the conventicles. The former differences between the established churches and the Mennonites were thus bridged.

There are at least three directions which the general Mennonite movement took in its later history. The first route, the conservative one, was pursued by the North American and Russian Mennonites who continued as rural groups. They remained faithful to the heritage of Menno Simons and of the Swiss Brethren of the sixteenth century. The second route was the approach to rationalistic groups inaugurated by the noted Galenus Abrahamsz de Haan (1622-1706) in Holland.[2] He was still Mennonite but his thinking was partly Socinian and partly in the line of the individualistic mysticism propagated by the Collegiants. In general what H. E. Dosker says in his treatise on Dutch Anabaptism[3] is true, namely, that the Mennonites in Holland of the later period and of today stand nearer to Adam Pastor and Galenus de Haan than to Menno Simons and his associates. The most recent history of the "Doopsgezinden" by W. J.

2. See C. B. Hylkema, *Reformateurs*, Haarlem, 1900-1902; also his article on Galenus in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, II, p. 26.

3. H. E. Dosker, *The Dutch Anabaptists*, Philadelphia, Pa., 1921, p. 258.

Kühler proves this thesis thoroughly.[4] This rationalistic attitude opened the doors of the congregations wide to the influence of the modern world. This meant, of course, contact with the world's best moral standard and an absolute seriousness of life, but it meant also a complete co-operation with the world in political and cultural aspects.

There is yet a third route of development, the one followed largely by the German Mennonites of the Rhineland, the Palatinate and elsewhere. One might name this the "pietistic" route. "Pietistic" means here looking more for *"Gottseligkeit"* (inner experience) than for *"Nachfolge"* (imitation of Christ), cultivating the inwardness of the Word of God in a more static manner and so not conflicting with the surrounding world. However even in this pietistic Mennonitism there remains a difference from the state churches, and Mennonites continued to be outstanding for moral endeavor in family life and social relationships. But, after the hardships they had to pass through up to the middle of the seventeenth century (the end of the Thirty Years' War), they seemed to be only too glad to build up tolerant churches, freely open to influences from without such as Quakerism and all kinds of Pietism as Labadism, Quietism, Separatism, and so on. In doing so they unconsciously changed their basic historic genius and character. This pietistic development is also in part true of the Dutch Mennonites both in Holland and in North Germany.

Only a few outlines of this phenomenon of transition will be given in the present article, in the hope that it may contribute something to a reconsideration of the whole problem of how to put Christianity and the message of the Kingdom of God into the reality of our earthly life.

A. Holland

Holland was the real cradle of pietism as well as of rationalism. Arminius and Cornheert were the leaders of the latter, and the Rhynsburger Collegiants, a group of loosely organized congregations devoted to an independent, rational and mystical study of the Scriptures, were the very places from which the new spirit of the century was spread. Many Mennonites were attendants at the Col-

4. W. J. Kühler, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden in de zestiende eeuw*, Haarlem, 1932. See the critique by John Horsch in the *Menn. Quart. Rev.* VIII, 1933, pp. 48 ff.

legiant meetings and were thus, without being aware of it, influenced by a new interpretation of life and religion. Since these Collegiants also practised adult baptism and general priesthood, and since they also refused military service, the appeal to the Mennonites was so great that the Waterlandian Mennonites could not withstand it, and, gradually taking the Collegiants into their churches, absorbed them completely in the eighteenth century.[4a]

What in the last analysis was the position of these Collegiants? It was rather indistinct and in a state of flux like most of the free spiritual movements. Sometimes they are called "the Socinians of Holland"[5] and followers of the sceptic philosophy of Descartes. (It may be noted that Spinoza was also close to them—as well as to some Mennonite groups.) Sometimes they are characterized as "mystics." Troeltsch[6] speaks of their "spiritualism" and puts them in the line of Caspar Schwenckfeld. But the Collegiants also stressed the "Gemüt" (emotional inwardness of the spirit or word) and thus represent a certain type of free pietism. They had no "visible" organized church and their devotional assemblies resembled Quaker meetings, open for everybody and with freedom of speech. Their discipline was mild, not "as in the primitive church." Their influence falls in a time of real flux when the modern mind was in the making.[7]

In this atmosphere Galenus Abrahamsz de Haan, the "last prophet of the Doopsgezinden" grew up. He was said to have jokingly called himself a "Socinian" when he was made a preacher of the Amsterdam church known as "To the Lamb" (1648). His inclination toward Quakerism was also known. Because of de Haan's liberalism, the conservative or orthodox Mennonites withdrew from "To the Lamb" in 1664 and organized the church "To the Sun," and the schism—the outward sign of very substantial inward differences —was completed. The spirit of Adam Pastor—excommunicated in 1548 by Derk Philips and Menno Simons because of his rationalistic interpretation of Christian doctrine—now prevailed among the majority of Dutch Mennonites who were willing to conform to the general trend of the time. C. B. Hylkema in his article in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (II. 28) points out how finally "this struggle could

4a. *Mennonitisches Lexikon* II, p. 522.

5. See W. J. Kühler, *Het Socinianisme in Nederland,* Leiden, 1912.

6. Ernst Troeltsch, *Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen,* 1912, p. 894.

7. See J. H. Randall, *The Making of the Modern Mind, A Survey of the Intellectual Background of the Present Age,* New York, 1926.

not hinder the rise of new congregations under the vigorous leadership of Galenus, which were for more than a century firehearths of an illuminated and mostly also pietistically tinged religious life. Galenus' influence continued to be felt as late as the time of the French Revolution."[8]

Quite a different atmosphere is to be found within the Dutch Reformed Church. There we find pietism proper. It too had a great influence on many a Mennonite. Both Goebel[9] and Ritschl[10] hold that this movement started with Jodocus van Lodenstein (1620-1677) and Jean de Labadie (1610-1674), the first named remaining in his church, the latter finally becoming a separatist. Lodenstein held a queer position regarding the Lord's Supper, namely, that when the sacrament is given to everybody in church it is profaned. So he determined never more to give the sacrament and soon assembled a group of "earnest" or "fine" Christians pledged to abstain from it because there was no longer pure fellowship at the Lord's table anywhere in the church. He later also advocated celibacy and a revival of the monastic life of self-denial as the true continuation of the Reformation. He says, "The sixteenth century was more concerned with the doctrine of godliness than with godliness itself . . ."[11], and he understood this godliness in a typically pietistic fashion as "emotional contact with the bridegroom of the soul." On the other hand he pleads for "precisism," i. e., going back to the norm of the primitive church even up to a certain community of goods.[12] "One must not become conformed to the world but has to bear the likeness of Jesus."[13] Accused of "Geisttreiberei, Wiedertäuferei, Quäkerei," he answered very characteristically, "One ought not to call it fanaticism if the spirit urges and works all things in a man. Reformed Christians have to be perfect 'Geisttreiber' . . . ."[14] Is it not strange:

8. When Galenus came to Hamburg in 1678 to contribute to edifying the congregation he had to meet an inquiry on several fundamentals. He answered that he had indeed opposed people who overstressed the confession of faith as if it would bind a man more than the Scripture. But by and large he thinks the confession of the Doopsgezinden very useful. He was therefore admitted to the pulpit. But a struggle continued for many years. See Berend K. Roosen, *Gerhard Roosen,* 1854, p. 46 and *Geschichte der Mennoniten Gemeinden zu Hamburg und Altona,* 1886, pp. 49 ff.

9. M. Goebel, *Geschichte des christichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen Kirche,* Vol. II, Coblenz, 1852.

10. A. Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus,* I, Bonn, 1880.

11. Goebel, *op. cit.,* p. 168.

12. Ritschl, *op. cit.,* p. 183.

13. *Ibid.,* p. 182.

14. Goebel, *op. cit.,* p. 178.

what was once a false accusation against Anabaptism is now advocated by a real churchman.

Labadie was more radical than Lodenstein in taking the step of separatism. In 1668 he published his book *Concerning the Practice of Free Prophecy,* understanding this term to mean the priesthood of believers and the so-called "spiritual" principle of interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.[15] "The reborn acts independently according to his knowledge of the Scripture so that all historical orders of the churches become indifferent to him," was a statement by Labadie which had a great appeal to his contemporaries and reminds us of sixteenth century radicalism. But actually Labadie's line was nearer to that of Spanish-French Quietism, the awaiting of a new effusion of the Spirit—a doctrine which he transplanted into Protestant soil. Nevertheless he also cherished the ideal of the primitive Christian church. A direct contact with Mennonites is not recorded, as Mennonites mainly followed the line of Galenus, but there was undoubtedly a certain indirect influence from Labadie which made them disposed to pietistic thinking. This is shown partly by their literature of that time which will be dealt with separately.

The best known pietist among Dutch Mennonites, however, was *Joannes Deknatel* (1698-1759), an influential preacher and author of wide reputation.[16] He had contact with all the prominent leaders of pietism, such as Zinzendorf[17] and Wesley, and it was Spangenberg, the bishop of the Moravians, who in 1734 during his stay in Amsterdam converted him to the new way. It is also known that Deknatel was working toward a union of the Hutterian Brethren with the Dutch Mennonites, although this plan failed.[18] The archives of the United Mennonite Church in Amsterdam still preserves letters from the Hutterites of Sabatisch (Slovakia) to him.[19] Deknatel sometimes led the service of the Amsterdam Moravians. "Nevertheless I bear my Doopgezind people on my heart and try to promote their blessedness like my own," he wrote. The friendship be-

15. Th. Sippel, "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Pietismus" in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* 1917.

16. W. J. Leendertz, "Johannes Deknatel, Een Pietist onder de Doopsgezinden," in *Geloof en Vrijheed,* 1887. See also Neff's article in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* I, 398-399.

17. See also the study by J. Th. Müller, "Die Berührung der alten und neuen Brüderunität mit den Täufern" in *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte,* 1910.

18. J. Beck, *Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich—Ungarn,* Wien, 1883, p. 573.

19. *Mennonitische Blätter,* 1894, p. 46.

tween Deknatel and Zinzendorf and their mutual correspondence are striking proofs of Deknatel's pietism. Deknatel's influence was immense. Swiss brethren visited him and his devotional writings were read in many Mennonite families both of Europe and America. His epistle to the Friedelsheimer congregation in the Palatinate (March 4, 1756) was later printed under the title *Der Weg zur Seligkeit* and widely circulated. It had neither the spirit of Menno Simons nor of Galenus, but that of the Moravians and Wesleyans.

B. Rhineland

Thomas Chalkley, a Pennsylvania Quaker (1675-1749) who took many long journeys "for gathering people to faith," wrote in his *Journal*[20] in the year 1709, "In Holland and Germany . . . there is a great people whom they call Mennonites, who are very near to truth, and the fields are white unto harvest among divers of that people, spiritually speaking." This is a good characterization of the whole situation. Indeed, Quakerism and Mennonitism were closely akin at this period and came into visible contact at the time of William Penn's work and the emigration of the famous thirteen Crefeld families to Germantown, Pa., in 1683.[21] It was a time of rapprochement of denominations and of mutual adjustment toward a commonsense pietism. To an outside observer all the various religious and spiritual movements must have appeared as more or less uniform, a fact which has led to much confusion in church-historiography.[22] Quakerism too had changed toward pietism, as Hubben points out, and in the struggle of the state churches against these new revivals, Quakerism and Anabaptism were synonymous reproaches.

Almost the only place in the Rhineland where Mennonites throve was in the industrial city of Crefeld. Intolerance elsewhere prevented their spread. Until about 1670 the Crefeld Mennonites kept faithfully their traditional position. But then new movements en-

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20. *A Collection of Works of Thomas Chalkley in two parts.* Philadelphia, Pa., 1709. Part I.: *A Journal of the Life, Labours, Travels, etc. of Thomas Chalkley,* p. 73.

21. Dirk Cattepoel, "Mennoniten oder Quäker?" in *Christlicher Gemeindekalender,* 1939, p. 58: "I think that it is nearest to the truth to suppose that Quakers and Mennonites conjointly founded Germantown, and it is certain that one can not speak of an unbridgable difference between them." John C. Wenger in his *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference,* Scottdale, 1937, p. 11, speaks of "Mennonite-Quakers."

22. Wilhelm Hubben, *Die Quäker in der deutschen Vergangenheit,* Leipzig, 1929, p. 47. (A very valuable contribution). The same remark is found in Ludwig Keller's *Staupitz und die Anfänge der Reformation,* 1888, p. 395.

tered and decisively influenced the Rhineland congregations. Three periods of this process of transition can be distinguished: (1) the influence of the above mentioned Quakerism (1670-1683), (2) the influence of the movement of the Dompelaars or Dunkers (in America later officially called Church of the Brethren) (1705-1725), (3) and finally the influence of the quietistic and mystical movement led by Gerhard Tersteegen (1735-1769).[23]

As early as 1657 Mennonites found a fairly safe refuge in the city of Crefeld after hard years of homelessness. But once settled, the traditional Mennonite spirit of toleration and brotherhood made them hospitable to other groups looking for rest in their pilgrimage through a world wholly lacking in understanding and in mercy. So Crefeld became for about a century (1650-1750) the center of awakened Christians of all types. Max Goebel points out these facts in his unsurpassed *History of Christian Life in the Protestant Rhineland Churches,*[24] "Facing hard and cruel persecutions by the ruling state church, the 'Quiet in the Land' (*Stillen im Lande*)—mystics, enthusiasts, separatists[25] found a safe refuge and starting point for their activities among the Mennonites. These for their part were also revived through this Christian life awakened outside of their group but very close and akin to them." The meetings of these various groups had the character of typical conventicles with a certain ascetic tinge. An individualistic culture of the inner life was propagated.

Into this circle entered the German mystic Hochmann von Hohenau[26] (d. 1721), a man of unusually powerful spirituality, who deeply influenced everyone with whom he came in touch. In Crefeld he was well received by the Mennonites, who gladly gave him the opportunity to preach several times in their meetinghouse. He also visited the congregations in the Palatinate several times, preaching his spiritualistic message of a purely inward Christianity. Like all extreme spiritualistic personalities, he was opposed to "forming sects"—as he puts it, but his activity nevertheless eventually prompted one of the strong and aggressive religious movements of the time,

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23. Dirk Cattepoel, *Das religiöse Leben in der Crefelder Mennonitengemeinde des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts,* Weierhof, 1939, pp. 5-28.

24. Goebel, *op. cit.,* pp. 689, 690 and 697.

25. Quakers, Labadists, Pietists, Moravians, Illuminates, and so on.

26. See the article by Neff in *Menn. Lex.* II, p. 321.

that of the Dompelaars or Dunkers.[26a] These people met persecution at many places in the Rhineland but in 1715 found a refuge in Crefeld like so many others before them. There the Mennonites were deeply impressed by this pietistic but very dynamic group, and many brethren including several preachers turned to them. It is characteristic of the spirit of toleration in those days that one of the ministers, Gossen Goyen, who administered baptism in the new way by immersion, nevertheless was allowed to continue as a Mennonite preacher. In 1719 a great part of the Crefeld Dompelaar group, including several former Mennonites, joined the German Baptist emigrants from Schwarzenau and came to Pennsylvania bringing with them their ascetic and emotional spirituality. (There they founded what is now known as the Church of the Brethren). In Crefeld, as a result of the loss of leadership due to emigration, the movement died out a few years later.

Not long afterwards another great personality of the time, Gerhard Tersteegen,[27] found a similar response among the Crefeld Mennonites. One of the greatest mystics in state church Protestantism, he partly continued the line of Hochmann whom he admired. Although his entire attitude tended toward complete quietism—the conviction that one has nothing to do but to open one's heart to receive spiritual illumination—Tersteegen's influence was extraordinary throughout Germany, and also among the Mennonites, with whom he carried on a lively correspondence. It was a great day for the Mennonites of Crefeld when on August 25, 1751, they as the only group in the city opened to him their meetinghouse for a devotional sermon. Tersteegen writes to a friend as follows about the unusually fine reception there and the final effect of his words: "People were so moved that it will stick to them . . . ." And it did. Tersteegen's books and hymns (the *Geistliches Blumengärtlein*) are still used and popular among German Mennonites, and many a copy is preserved in the homes of American Mennonite families of South German origin.

But to be historically exact it must be mentioned that these pietistic influences never affected the whole body of Rhineland Mennonitism.

26a. On the Dunkers and their spiritual life, see *Menn. Lex.* I, pp. 122 and 458 f and also Friedrich Nieper, *Die ersten deutschen Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien, Ein Bild aus der religiösen Ideengeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts,* Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins Neukirchen, Kreis Moers, 1940, pp. 121-133.

27. See H. E. Govan, *Life of Gerhard Tersteegen, and Selected Works,* New Edition, London, 1902. Also Goebel, *op. cit.,* Vol. 3.

Along side of such spiritualistic tendencies, the traditional Mennonite pattern of life still maintained itself, even if not so vital as in Mennonite groups elsewhere and lacking greatly the power of sixteenth century Anabaptism. To be aloof from the world and serve as the salt of the earth—or to be in harmony with the world and at the same time lose the opportunity to influence the world: this alternative must ever be faced by earnest Christians. The pendulum of history never stops.

C. The Palatinate

The trends in Mennonite life and faith noticed in Holland and the Rhineland were to be found elsewhere in Germany. Mennonitism in the Palatinate manifested similar phenomena. The original Swiss Anabaptism of this region had been completely rooted out when the Thirty Years' War began. After this war Swiss Mennonites were permitted under certain restrictions to settle in the depopulated country in order to cultivate it. The years that followed this settlement of 1660 and later were a period of bitter hardship but of loyalty and tenacious perseverance. Ernst Correll in his well-known book[28] tells the moving story of that time of oppression and emigration of many to the New World, and it is not surprising to see a more quietistic attitude developing under such conditions. The defiant spirit of the early sixteenth century had disappeared long before, and when the pietistic movement spread over Germany about 1700, Mennonites recognized some kinship to the movement and opened hearts and homes to this new message. For instance, the Palatinate Mennonite, Adam Krehbiel,[29] of Weierhof wrote to Gerhard Tersteegen on April 30, 1766, thanking him for the gift of his books. And the Herrnhut Archives of the Moravians preserve an interesting report from a missionary of 1761 which runs as follows: "They (the Palatinate Mennonites) are concerned with becoming saved (*es ist innen ums Seligwerden zu tun*) but they still stay in their religious customs. To a great extent they don't agree with their Amsterdam brothers but some of them read the books of Deknatel." And a subsequent

28. Ernst Correll, *Das Schweizer Täufer-Mennonitentum Tübingen,* 1925, pp. 79-100.

29. See the article in *Menn. Lex.*, II, p. 565. In his letter to Tersteegen, Krehbiel indicates his pietistic attitude by writing that he had come to see where "rest is to be found, namely in selfdenying, loving, dying and conquering in and through God's good will and pleasure." He asks Tersteegen to remember him before the heart and throne of God, so that he may be separated from all other things and led to the sweet fellowship of the love of God.

passage reads: "Their teachers and supervisors put all stress on own righteousness and sanctity. Six teachers, who preached the Saviour and his wounds, have been dismissed for that reason."[30] Adam Krehbiel was among these, and another was Peter Weber, of whom the record merely states that he still has many adherents in the vicinity of the Donnersberg.

Little was known about Peter Weber before the publication of the valuable biography by Christian Neff in the *Christlicher Gemeindekalender,* 1930.[31] Peter Weber (1731-1781) was a linenweaver and Mennonite lay-preacher in the Palatinate but soon got a leading role among pietists of his time. His conversion was prompted by the writings of Joannes Deknatel whom he also visited in Amsterdam about one year before the death of the latter. He was eager to propagate Deknatel's ideas among his brethren but did not find the full response he had hoped for. More conservative members of the congregation opposed these newly imported teachings and customs. For instance, it was said that he trespassed against the fellowship of the believers by admitting to the Lord's Supper, and sometimes even to membership in the congregation, non-Mennonites and even those "who live shockingly." Eventually the conservatives succeeded in dismissing Peter Weber from the ministry. A letter from Holland of December 11, 1759 gives some surprising explanations: "The real reason for this hostility seems to be the message of the atonement by faith in Christ and his sacrifice and that one has to look for his salvation in that faith only." (*Die eigentliche Ursache der Feindschaft ist die Predigt von der Versöhnung durch den Glauben an Christus und sein Opfer, dass man darin allein seine Seligkeit sucht.*) And furthermore, "The state of mind of the Mennonites in Holland is bad to a degree such as it never could be with you. Sometimes during an entire sermon they don't even mention the name of the Saviour. They deny original sin and preach an ethics not different from that of the heathen, with which you can stay perfectly conformed to the world in externals as well . . . ."[32]

In spite of opposition Weber busily continued his work to the time

30. Johann Jakob Hamm, *Die Gemeinschaftsbewegung in der Pfalz,* 1928, pp. 23 f., quoting records in the *Herrnhut Archives,* R 19 Bh 7 and 124. The "wound-theology" was a typical Moravian pietistic product.

31. Christian Neff, "Peter Weber, ein mennonitischer Pietist aus dem 18. Jahrhundert," in *Christlicher Gemeindekalender,* 1930, pp. 61-102.

32. *Ibid.,* p. 68.

of his death and it seems that the Mennonite church in the Palatinate gradually moved toward Weber's position. We recognize it for instance from the fact that Johann Arndt's *Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christentum* became and has for a long time been the most popular and most widely used devotional book among Palatinate Mennonite families.[33] Almost the same might be said of Tersteegen's books.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century there were Mennonite contacts with Heinrich Jung-Stilling, the well-known pietist, physician, and economist.[34] He for his part felt a spiritual kinship with these people and in his *Taschenbuch für die Freunde des Christentums* (1813) published a biography of Menno Simons taken from Deknatel's edition of Menno's writings, in which he says on the last page, "It is time to remove from between the sects the obsolete walls of paper which have hindered the unity of the spirit and brotherly love for so long a time."[35]

The continuation of pietism in German Protestantism in the nineteenth century was the so-called "Gemeinschaftsbewegung." In giving a description of this movement in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Christian Neff concludes with the remarkable words: "What the recent *Gemeinschaftsbewegung* purposes in its best biblical meaning was achieved long ago in a positive realization among the Anabaptists of the age of the Reformation. And up to the present day Mennonites and other Anabaptist churches in the different countries are the very representatives of the idea of evangelical fellowship (*Träger des evangelischen Gemeinschaftswesens*)."

A whole chapter needs to be written on the relation of German and Swiss Mennonitism in the nineteenth century to the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung,* but this would take us too far afield at this time. Suffice it to say, as Neff suggests, that the Mennonites of South Germany have had the closest inward and outward fellowship with the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung* and continue to do so today. There is even a Mennonite *Gemeinschaft* known as the "Hahnische" Mennonites[36]

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33. Chr. Neff in his article "Arndt" in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* I, 85. He points out that Arndt's influence was lasting.

34. See the article by Neff in the *Menn. Lex.,* II, p. 446, also Correll, *op. cit.,* pp. 112 ff. See also H. R. G. Günther, *Jung-Stilling,* Berlin, 1928.

35. Like Jung-Stilling the Swiss Pietist Lavater was also in friendly contact with the Mennonites and in 1774 visited them in the Palatinate. Cf. the article by Neff on Lavater in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* II, pp. 625 f.

36. Johann Michael Hahn, an inspired simple peasant of Württemberg (died 1819) founded a religious group of strongly pietistic character, the so-called *"Hahnischen"* or *"Michelianer."* Two Mennonite congregations in Baden joined this movement. See

founded in 1858 in Baden and still in existence. We are not quite ready however to accept Neff's interpretation, and it is still a question whether Mennonitism has lost or gained by its fellowship with the *Gemeinschaften.*

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the article by Neff on Hahn in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, pp. 232-3. Goshen College Library has Volume IV of Hahn's writings, (Tübingen, 1820) with expositions of the New Testament (800 pages), donated by a Mennonite family.

PALATINATE MENNONITE CENSUS LISTS, 1664–1774, V

Edited from the Originals in the State Archives at Karlsruhe, Germany, by Harold S. Bender

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Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4239, fol. 220/22

DESIGNATION

deren im Oberamt Altzey ind beeden Unter-Ämteren Greins-und Erbesbiedesheim fefindlichen Menonisten (1759).

No.
Der Buchstab
V bedeutet Viduum
U uxoratum
S solutum

1. **Heppenheim**					
Johann Rupp U.	2	5	..	..	7
Daniel Landes U.	2	5	..	..	7
Henrich Webers wittib	1	2	..	..	3
2. **Osthofen**					
David Juzi wittib	1	3	1	..	5
Michel Weis. U.	2	5	..	..	7
Ullrich Hackmann U.	2	3	..	..	5
Jacob Enger S.	1	..	..	..	1
3. **Flomersheim**					
Wilhelm Herbach U.	2	..	..	..	2
Peter Becker S.	1	..	..	..	..
hat bey sich seines verstorbenen Bruders	..	2	..	..	3
4. **Ofstein**					
Heinrich Schneiders wittib	1	10	..	..	2
5. **Rodenbach**					
Johann Christophs wittib	1	10	..	..	11
Johann Siegrist U.	2	2	..	..	..
N. B. hat seinen Vatter bey sich	1	..	..	..	5
6. **Geroltzheim**					
Peter Schmid U.	2	4	..	..	6
Christ Burckholder U.	2	4	..	..	6
Jacob Peters wittib	1	3	..	..	4
Jacob Hirschler U.	2	7	..	..	9
Ullrich Burckholder U.	2	6	..	..	8
Christian Müllers wittib	1	1	..	..	2
7. **Heppenheim auf der Wies**					
Johann Hiestand U.	2	..	..	..	2
Johannes Krähmer U.	2	5	..	..	7
Christian Roth U.	2	4	..	..	6
Johannes Lehmann U.	2	7	..	..	9

Ger(h)ard Huthwohl U.	2	..	..	..	2
Johannes Becker V.	1	..	..	..	1
Herbachs wittib	1	..	..	..	1
8. **Ober Sültzen**					
Martin Blüm U.	2	..	..	1	3
welche seiner Frau Schwester					
Christian Staufer U.	2	4	..	..	6
Henrich Fried U.	2	4	..	..	6
Jacob Hirstein S.	1	..	..	..	1
Jacob Stauffers wittib	1	4	..	2	7
9. **Ottersheim**					
Christian Kegi U.	2	3	2	..	7
10. **Alsheim**					
Christian Kuntzi U.	2	2	..	..	4
Christian Lenhard U.	2	6	..	..	8
Johannes Schmid U.	2	7	..	..	9
Daniel Schmid U.	2	6	..	..	8
11. **Übersheimer Hof**					
omnes uxorati					
Michael Christoph	2	9	1	1	13
Jacob Leysy	2	1	1	1	5
Christian Borcky	2	10	..	..	12
Daniel Brenneman	2	..	..	..	28
Rudolph Forer senior	2	4	1	..	7
Johannes Röcky	2	5	..	..	7
Jacob Müller	2	2	1	1	6
Jacob Borcky	2	6	..	..	8
Johannes Forer senior	2	5	..	..	7
Daniel Stauffer junior	2	3	..	..	5
Henrich Borcky	2	3	..	..	5
Johannes Hackmann	2	6	..	1	9
Jacob Hiestand	2	1	1	1	5
Daniel Stauffer im Schloss	2	6	..	..	8
Henrich Stauffer	2	3	..	..	5
Rudolph Neukommet	2	2	..	1	5
Henrich Seitz senior	2	3	1	..	6
Christian Hackmann	2	3	..	..	5
Johannes Forer junior	2	2	..	..	4
Rudolph Forer junior	2	2	1	1	6
Jacob Rohrer	2	4	..	..	6
Jacob Hackmann	2	6	1	9	..
Jacob Brabacher	2	1	..	..	3
Henrich Seitz junior	2	6	..	..	8
Viduae					
Jacob Brubachers wittib	1	..	..	..	1
Jacob Hiestands wittib	1	..	..	..	1
Jacob Müller U.	2	3	..	..	5
Christian Wanner U.	2	3	..	..	5
Christian Eschelmann U.	2	2	..	..	4
Johannes Blüm U.	2	2	..	..	4
12. **Spiesheim**					
Julius Biehn U.	2	7	..	..	9
Johannes Webers wittib	1	2	..	..	3

	Peter Berg U.	2	5	..	..	7
	Henrich Binen wittib	1	5	..	..	6
	Peter Jantz U.	2	2	..	..	4
	wovon das eine ein Waÿsslein					
13.	**Oberflörsheim**					
	Jacob Dalmann	2	7	..	..	9
	Johannes Schmitt	2	6	..	..	8
	Johannes Hahn	2	5	..	..	7
	Christian Weber	2	4	..	..	6
	Peter Weber	2	3	..	..	5
	Wilhelm Krämer	2	3	..	..	5
	Arnd Krämer	2	4	..	..	6
14.	**Gundersheim**					
	Henrich Schmitt jun.	2	4	1	..	7
	Henrich Schmitts wittib	1	6	..	..	7
	Johannes Krämer V.	1	3	..	..	4
15.	**Einzelthum**					
	Ulrich Flory	2	1	..	..	
	hat seine alten					
	Eltern bey sich	2				5
16.	**Niederflörsheim**					
	Johannes Christophs frau	1	3	..	..	
	hat ehren Vatter bey sich	1	..	..	..	5
	Seyen bey					
17.	**Mauchenheim**					
	Jacob Schmitt U.	2	2	..	..	4
18.	**Offenheim**					
	Michel Böxeler U.	2	3	..	..	5
19.	**Wolfsheim**					
	Mattheus Weber V.	1	1	..	..	2
	Wendel Jantz U.	2	5	..	..	7
	Peter Böhmers wittib	1	2	..	..	3
20.	**Erbesbüdesheim**					
	Jacob Eicher U.	2	6	..	..	8
	Valentin Dahlmann U.	2	2	..	..	4
	Johannes Neef U.	2	..	..	..	2
	Jacob Stauffert U.	2	5	..	..	7
	Jacob Neukommet U.	2	5	..	..	7
21.	**Kriegsfred**					
	Jacob Heer U.	2	5	..	..	7
22.	**Kriegsheim**					
	Henrich Gramm U.	2	5	1	1	9
	David Hutwohls wittib	1	4	..	..	5
	Henrich Strohm U.	2	2	..	1	5
	Anna Bienen Wittib	1	2	1	..	4
	Valentin Hutwohl U.	2	6	..	..	8
	Peter Müller	2	2	..	1	5
	Johannes Nold V.	1	3	..	1	5
	Abraham Kolbs Wittib	1	3	..	..	4
	Johannes Jansons wittib	1	5	..	..	6
		136	364	13	15	518

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derer in derfolg churfürstlichen gnädigsten rescripti vom 27ten April 1759 eingezogenen Oberamtlichen und Haubtstättlichen Berichtenn, in betref derer dermahlen in Churpfaltz Landten befindlichen Menonisten.

Pagina actor.	Oberamtere und drey Haubtstätte	in nach folgen- den rub- riquen	familien Männer	Weiber	Kinder Wittib	Knecht	Mägd	Summa deren Personen	
327	**Altzey**	85	87	80	16	364	13	15	575
358	**Bacharach**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
360	**Boxberg**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
363	**Bretten**	2	2	2	....	5	....	....	9
365	**Creuznach**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
369	**Germersheim**	7	7	....	....	....	....	....	7
	NB. Weiber, Kinder Knecht und Mage nicht bemarcket worden								
382	**Heydelberg**	46	46	45	2	175	13	15	296
426	**Ladenburg**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
429	**Lautern**	14	14	9	5	34	....	....	62
462	**Lauterecken**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
464	**Lindenfels**	1	1	....	....	5	....	....	6
467	**Mosbach**	3	3	3	1	15	1	....	23
473	Neustadt	59	59	58	4	274	....	....	335
520	**Oppenheim**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
520	**Simmeren**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
524	**Stromberg**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
526	**Veldenz**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
529	**Umstadt und Ezberg**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
539	**Mannheim**	16	16	13	2	28	4	3	66
535	**Heydelberg**	1	1	1	....	4	....	....	6
532	**Franckenthal**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
		234	236	211	30	844	31	33	1385

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SUMMARISCHE VERZEICHNUS

Aller in dem Oberamt **Lautern** vorhandener Menonisten familien und persohnen und zwarn, laut special verzeichnus

No.		Gross- vatter	Gross- mutter	Vatter	Mutter	Söhne	Töchtere	Knechte	Persohnen
1.	**Statt Lautern**	....	1	2	2	2	5	1	13
2.	**Statt Otterberg**	....	....	8	8	14	14	....	44
3.	**Nnteramt Rockenhausen**	....	....	2	1	3	4	....	10

4.	**Unteramt Wolfstein**	....	....	1	1	2	2	....	6
5.	**Kellerey Hohenacken**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
6.	**Gerichtskellerey**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
7.	**Ramstein**	....	....	1	1	2	2	....	6
8.	**Steinwenden**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
9.	**Weillenbach**	....	....	1	....	....	....	1	2
10.	**Waldfischbach**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
11.	**Morlautern**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
12.	**Neukirchen**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
13.	**Alsenborn**	....	1	1	1	1	1	....	5
14.	**Dansenberg**	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
15.	**Gemeinschaft**	....	....	6	5	6	3	....	20
	Hochspeyer und Frankenstein								
	Summa	....	2	22	29	30	31	2	106

Alsso conscribirt Lautern den 25. August 1759
Churpfaltz Oberamt
Horn

NO. 35 1768-N

[Auf den Befehl der Chfstl. Regierung an sämtliche Oberämter, ein Verzeichnis der vorfindlichen Schutzbegnadigten Mennonisten einzuschicken vom 30. September 1768 kam es zu nachstehenden Verzeichnis. Neff.]

VERZEICHNIS

Alsheim
Jakob Schmidt
Daniel Schmidt Wwe
Chr. Kinzti Wwe

Alzey

Gundersheim
Johannes Rupp
Heinrich Schmidt
Peter Schmidt

Ibersheim
Rudolph Forrer
Jakob Forrer
Jakob Müller
Jakob Berke
Jak. Brubacher
Dan. Stauffer jun.
Dan. Stauffer sen.
Heinrich Stauffer
Jakob Kaegy
Johannes Hiestand
Jak. Hiestand sen.
Rud. Neukumeter
Heinrich Seitz
Christian Hackmanns Wwe
Johannes Forrer
Jakob Berky
Jakob Rohr (er?)
Hch. Forrer
Jakob Berke jun.
Hch. Seitz jun.
Mich. Christophel
Jakob Laysy
Chr. Berky jun.
Dan. Brennemann

Heppenheim
Daniel Landes
Jakob Rupp
Joh. Weber
Jakob Hahn

Kriegsheim
Heinrich Gramm
Peter Strohm
Valentin Hütwohl
Michael Neef
Joh. Noldt
Michael Stiess
Joh. Neef
Joh. Strohm
Joh. Strohm Wwe
Niederflörsheim
Joh. Christophel
Oberflörsheim
Andreas Krämer
Wilhelm Krämer
Chr. Weber
Jak. Dahlem
Julius Hahn
Joh. Schmitt Wwe
Osthofen
Jak. Weiss
Georg Schneider
Johannes Seitz
Jakob Engers
David Jutzy Wwe
Spiesheim
Julius Biehn
Hermann Biehn
Johannes Schmidt Wwe
Peter Jantz
Peter Berg
Wolfsheim
Johannes Kägy
Heinrich Bohner (Böhmer?)
Wendel Jantz(sohn)
Flomersheim
Jakob Krehbiel
Beckers Wittib
Heppenheim a.d.w.
Christian Roth
Heinrich Stauffer
Isaak Hiestand
Gerhard Hüthwohl
Johannes Krämer
Offstein
Nikolaus Kaegy
Obersülzen
Heinrich Herstein
Martin Blum
Christian Stauffer
Ulrich Fried
Jakob Schmied
Rodenbach
Gerhard Janson
Matthias Christoph(el)
Ottersheim
Christian Kaegy
Erbesbüdesheim
Heinrich Borgholter
Peter Weber
Johannes Neef Wwe
Kriegsfeld
Jakob Heer auf dem
Schniftenbergerhof
BRETTEN
Eppingen
Christian Heer
Jakob Heer
Jakob Funk
Germersheim
Bossweiler (?)
Peter Müller
Chr. Eichelberger
Eyserthal
Johann Eichelberger
Johann Draxel
Stockwieserhof
Rudolf Hertzler
Abraham Rees
Christian Eger (?) (Eicher?)
Breitwieserhof
Christian Gingerich Wwe
Jakob Ullmann
Hilsbacherhof
Jakob Müller
Lauberhof
Chr. Rocky
Chr. Schneider Wwe
Mettersheim (?)
Joh. Ehrismann
Chr. Bürky

Dilsberg	19	Mennonisten
Wiesloch und Altwissl.	4	"
Zent Kirchheim	19	"
Nussloch	1	"
R ?	1	"
Bruchhausen	5	"
Rohrhof	8	"
Rohrbach	1	"
Kirchheim	1	"
Waldorf	2	"

LAUTERN
Eselsfürth
Joh. Christian Höfle
Jak. Latscha Wwe an einen Reformierten verheiratet
Stadt Otterberg
Ulrich Lichti
Johannes Engers (?)
Jak. Beutler Wwe
Messeschwanderhof
Peter Rubel
Joh. Rubel
Drehenthalerhof
Joh. Höfle
Ertensteeg (?)
(Unterschernauhof?)
Jakob Leopold
Geisselbergermühle
Lorenz Walther
Enkenbach
Peter Latscha Afterbeständer der Würtzschen auch menn. Kinder zu Enkenbach, hat um d. Schutz nachgesucht, aber noch nicht erhalten
Imsweiler
Jakob Eymann
Kühbörncheshof
Jakob Latscha
(Zuzenhausen) ?
Joh. Bechtel
Jakob Stauffer
Jakob Horsch
Jakob Suter
Reihen
Martin Frey, aufgen. 1740
Heinrich Funk 1753
Immelhausen
Chr. Binkele
Sam. Frey 24. Feb. 1740
Wachenheim
Jakob Bergthold
Jakob Strohm
Alsheim bei Cronau
Isaak Bergthold
Jakob Bergthold
Jakob Hertzler Wwe
Lamsheim
Isaak Cetty (?)
Neidenfels
Chr. Rocky
Gönnheim
Abr. Ellenberger
Waltzheim
Hch. Sutter hat aber einen verheir. Sohn bei sich.

NEUSTADT
Mussbach
Andreas Jotter
Friedelsheim
Hof Heinrich Schwarz
Dorf Christian Berg
Schloss Abraham Risser
Johannes Risser Wwe
Johannes Strohm
Jakob Lichti
Abraham Ellenberger
Johannes Laysy
Daniel Brennemann Wwe
Spital Branchweiler
Abraham Egly
Jakob Egly
Jakob Hirschler Wwe
Jakob Dester Wwe
Christian Hege
Johannes Ellenberger Wwe
Neustadt
Jakob Möllinger Wwe
Duttweiler
Johannes Bergthold
Johannes Lichti
Böhl
Christian Bechtel
Friesenheim
Heinrich Graf
Christian Stauffer Wwe
Jakob Hackmann Wwe
Christian Ellenberger
Jakob Hackmann
Jakob Häusler
Mutterstadt
Jakob Kündig (Kägy)
Johannes Wissler
Johannes Stauffer
Ulrich Hege
Oggersheim
Jost Jotter
Der alte Schmutz (?)
Der junge "
Noch einer auf dem Mannheimer Frauenklostergut

Oppau
Jakob Zahn
Kohlhof
Georg Wagner
Blickensdörfers Wwe
Hemshof
Johannes Möllinger
Jakob Möllinger
Krehbühl
Gräfenau
Peter Graf
Joseph Graf
Dexheim
Johannes Biehn
(Heidelberg)
Gutleuthof
Samuel Mayer
Mannheim
Christian Schuhmacher
Martin Möllinger
Jakob Pletscher
Abraham Deutsch
Johannes Hassert
Johannes Koller
Johannes Schuhmacher
Jakob Hunzinger
Jakob Neukummet
Jakob Hackmann
Daniel Geber
Jakob Geber
Matthias Bonn
Friedrich Bergthold
Jakob Bechtel
Johannes Schmidt
Peter Graf
Jakob Hunzingers Mutter Wwe
Daniel Pletscher Wwe

NO. 36 1773-N S

Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 3

[Am 23. Märtz 1773 wurde der Befehl an sämtliche Oberämter erlassen ein vollständiges verzeichniss der Menonisten im hande einzuschicken. Das Oberamt Alzey und Lautern Machte nur summarische Angaben ohne Nennung der Namen. Neff.]

Editor's Note: Neff's list combines the **separate** reports into one list. The lists given below therefore follow the archivists copy. No attempt has been made to correct the spelling. This applies to numbers 36a—

Ahn
Sambtliche Oberämbtere
und
3 Haubtstädte

Wieviele Wiedertäufere in des Oberambts N. Bezirck dermahlen erfindsam auch wie starck ihrer Kindter, dann Knecht und Mägdten darüber wird unter anzuschliessender vollständiger Verzeichnus der pflichtmässige bericht ehest thunlich erwärtiget.

Mannheim den 23ten Martz
1773

No. 36a, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 6

DESIGNATIO

Derer im Oberamt **Alzei** wohnhaften Menonisten, derselben Knecht, Mägd, auch von Christlicher Religion.

Alsheim	4	4	4	3	..	2	5	2
Alzey	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	2
Gundersheim	1	1	3	2	..	2	1	..
Eich (Ibersheimerhof)	20	20	41	34	5	9	31	34
Heppenheim	4	5	6	8	..	2	4	4
Kriesheim (Kriegsheim)	8	7	12	13	1	..	3	3
Monzernheim	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	1
Niederflörsheim	3	3	3	3	..	1	1	1
Oberflörsheim	6	7	16	11	3	4	4	8
Offenheim	1	1	3	3	..	..	..	1
Osthofen	6	6	7	5	2	1	3	7
Spiesheim	4	5	5	8	..	1	..	..
Wolfsheim	2	3	3	3	..	..	2	..
Erbesbüdesheim	2	3	7	6	..	..	5	5
Flomersheim	3	4	2	10	..	..	3	2
Heppenheim	5	5	14	7	1	3	1	4
Offstein	1	1	3	2	..	1	3	2
Obersülzen (Obersülzen)	5	4	6	9	..	5	3	1
Rodenbach	2	2	4	2	..	3	3	..
Otters (immesheim)	1	..	2	1	..	..	1	1
Summa	80	83	142	131	12	34	75	78

in fidem Extractus

Muller

No. 36b, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 8

VERZEICHNUS

Deren im Oberambt Germersheim wurcklich erfindsamen wiedertäuferen sambt deren Kindern und brodgesind.

Geilweÿler Hof (Gersweilerhof)	1	1	1	1	4	2	11
Rothenhof	1	1	1	..	..	1	4
Stockwiesser hof	2	2	2	5	4	2	17
Pfaltzhof	1	1	3	3	1	1	10
Lauberhof	2	1	4	3	2	1	13
Mettenbacherhof	1	1	3	2	..	..	7
Mechtersheimerhof	2	1	3	3	12	6	27
Summa	10	8	17	18	23	13	89

Unterfertiget bey Oberambt Germersheim den 7ten Mayi 1773

No. 36c, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 12

SUMMARISCHE VERZEICHNUSS

Aller indem Oberamt Heidelberg sich befindenden Wiedertäuferen oder Menonisten, deren Kinderen, Kncht und Mägden anzahl.

Amt Dillsberg	15	20	59	31	25	150
Centh Kirchheim	15	20	72	8	8	122
Stadt Wiessloch	3	5	8	2	3	21
Summa	33	44	139	41	36	293

in den übrigen ober amts ortschaften seynd keine befindlich

Churpfaltz Oberamt dahier

Heidelberg, den 10; Mai 1773

F. Wreden

No. 36d, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 13

DESIGNATION

Deren in dem Churpfältzischen Ambt **Dillsperg** Sülz dermahlen Befindenden wiedertäufer, auch (solchen) Söhne, Knecht und Mägd:

Mauer	3	3	4	2	2	6	20
Angeloch	2	3	3	3	..	1	12
Ahs und Mauspach	..	1	2	1	..	1	5
Schatthausen	3	3	4	1	3	3	17
Beyerthal	1	..	3	..	..	2	6
Dayspach	1	3	6	4	18	4	36
Zuzenhausen	2	3	6	6	..	1	18
Mechesheim	1	2	1	5	2	4	15
Helmstatt	2	2	..	8	6	3	21
Summa	15	20	29	30	31	25	150

No. 36e, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 14

SUMMARISCHE VERZEICHNUSS

Aller in der **Kirchheimer Centh,** besag desfalls eingezogener gerichtlicher berichteren dermahlen erfindsamen Wiedertäuferen, nebst bemerckter anzahl derselben Kinderen, auch Knecht und Mägden.

Rohrbach	1	1	6	1	..	..	..
Kirchheim	1	1	2	..	..	2	2
Eppelheim	1	1	6	1	..	1	1
Nussloch	1	1	5	..	1	..	1
Walldorf	1	1	2	2	1	1	1
Reylingen	1	1	5	..	1	..	1
Bruchhäuser Hof	3	5	18	4	2	10	8
Rohrhof	6	8	28	..	3	7	4
Summa	15	19	72	8	8	21	18

Leymen den 6ten May, 1773 Th. Reinewald

Centhgrafereyverweser

No. 36f, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 18

VERZEICHNUS

deren in dem Oberamt **Lauteren** dermahlen erfindsamer wiedertäuferen, deren weibern, Kindern, Knecht und Mägd.

Auf der Eselsfürth						
Christian Höfel und dessen Vatter	2	1	..	1	2	1
Statt Otterberg						
von dem verlebten statt-mülleren Ulrich Lichti	..	..	3	2	2	..
Catharina Lichti verheurathete Bernhardin	..	1	..	..	..	..
Johann Engel	1	1	..	3	1	1
Jacob Beutters wittib	..	1	..	..	..	..
Metzelschwander hof						
Peter Rubel	1	1	1	1	..	1
Johann Rubel	1	1	1	1	..	1
Drohenthaler hof						
Johann Hofli	1	1	1	4	..	..
Horter Hof						
Heinrich Burckholder	1	1	3	3	..	..
Johann Berger	1	1	2	1	..	..
Unteramt Rockenhausen						
Jacob Eymann zu **Imbsweiler**	1	1	1	2	..	..
Unter Amt Wolfstein						
Jacob Latschar aufm **Kirchbernges** hof	1	1	1	1	3	2
Gericht Ramstein						
Auf dem **Schormäuer** hof						
Jacob Leopold	1	1	1	2	1	1
Johann Leopold alda	1	1	..	..	..	1
Gericht Alsenborn						
Peter Latschar zu **Enckenbach**	1	1	..	..	1	..
In denen mit dem herren Grafen zu Leiningen und freyherrn von Mattbram Gemeinschaftlichen orthschaften franckenstein und hochspeyer und zwarn zu **Franckenstein**						
Christoph Hauser	1	1	6	2	..	..
Christoph Scherbet	1	1	1	1	..	..
Hochspeyer						
Jacob Kintzinger	1	1	2	1	..	1
Münchhof						
Peter Würtz	1	1	1	4	2	1
Wittib Würtzin	..	1	4	2	1	..
Summa	17	19	28	31	11	10

Alsso consigniret Lauteren den 25ten May 1773
Churpfaltz Oberamt
Horn

No. 36g, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 26

VERZEICHNUSS

Deren im Amt **Hilspach** und in denen, unter Churpfaltz Hoheit dann Landbezirck angehörigen Dörfern und Höfen sich aufhaltenden Widdertäuferen, ihren Kinderen und Brodgegesinds.

Ortschaften der Aufenthalts Nahmen deren Familien Mann			**Frau**	**Kinder**	**Knecht**	**Mägd**	**Summa**
Weyler	Isaac Wagner	1	1	4	1	..	7
Ein Kurpfältz-ischlehen und Cent-Ort	Jacob Schaals wittib	..	1	1	..	..	2
							9
Auf dem dahin-gehörigen **Ziegel** oder **Buchenhof**	Johann Strickle	1	..	5	1	1	8
Auf dem Lehenhof **Bircken**	Jacob Schmutz der alt	1	..	..	..	1	2
	Jacob Schmutz der jung	1	1	3	2	2	9
	Samuel Bären wittib	..	1	5	2	2	10
							21
Alles gemäss Beilag No. 1							
Sinssheim							
Auf dem der geistlichen Administration zustandigen hof **Immelhaussen**	Christman Binckele	1	..	6	1	1	9
	Martin Frey	1	1	1	1	1	5
	Rudolph Frey	1	1	3	1	1	7
							21
besag Verzeich-nuss No. 2							
Boxschaft							
Ein unter Kurpfaltz							

Hoheit und Landbezirck gehörige hof des Stift Pfortzheim	Samuel Landes	1	1	3	5	2	12
	Peter Moser	1	1	6	..	..	8
							20
Richen	Henrich Funck	1	1	6	..	..	8
	Martin Freyen wwe	..	..	3	1	..	5
							13
Streichenberg							
Einzu Churpfäl	Johannes Bär der alt	1	..	..	..	..	1
zischen Lehen u.	Jacob Frey	1	1	3	..	2	7
Centh-Ort	Christian Funk	1	..	1	2	2	6
Steppach gehörige	Henrich Jansen wittib	..	1	2	3	2	8
Burghof	Johannes Bär	1	1	3	1	1	7
Daunnhof							
Ein unter Kurpfaltz	Henrich Bär	1	1	5	2	1	10
Hoheit und Land	Jacob Eppis (Eglis?)						
bezirck gehörige	wittib	..	1	7	2	..	10
deren Freiher-							
ren von							20
Gemmingen zustän-							
dige hof	Summa	16	16	71	27	21	151

Hilspach, den 27ten April 1773

No. 36h, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 31

VERZEICHNUSS

Deren Orthschafften Ober-Amts **Neustatt,** in welchen sich Menonisten und zwar viele derenselben an Kinderen und sonstigen Hausgenossenen befinden.

No.	Orthschaften	Männer	Weiber	Kinder	Knecht	Mägd
1.	**Alsheim bey Cronau**	2	1	8	1	..
2.	**Böhl**	1	1	9	..	..
3.	**Duttweiler**	2	2	5	1	1
4.	**Eppstein**	11	12	33	..	..
5.	**Friedelsheim**	3	..	8	..	..
6.	**Gönnheim**	..	..	8	1	2
7.	**Sanct Grethen et Seebach**	2	4	6	..	1
8.	**Musbach**	1	1	3	..	..
9.	**Neustatt**	..	1	4	..	..
10.	**Neydenfelss**	1	..	4	..	..
	Oberschultheisserey Oggersheim					
11.	**Friessenheim**	3	4	10	..	..
11.	**Oppau**	1	1	2	..	..
11.	**Hembshoff**	6	6	15	1	..
11.	**Gräfenau**	3	3	12	..	..
11.	**Kohlhof**	1	2	6	..	..

12.	**Wachenheim**	4	4	11	3	2
13.	**Waltzheim**	2	1	3	..	..
14.	**Spital Brandsweiler**	5	5	15	2	2
	Summa	48	53	162	9	8

Neustatt den 12ten May 1773
Meerdt

No. 36i, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 44

PFLICHTMÄSIGE VERZEICHNUSS

wieviele Wiedertäufere in der **Heydelberger Stadt** Raths Bezirck befindlich und wie starck die Zahl ihrer Kinder, Knecht, und Mägden

1.	IN DER Stadt **Heÿdelberg** befinden sich Keine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2.	auf dem **Bussenbrunner** oder **Kohlhof** befinden sich keine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3.	zu **Schlierbach** Samuel Mayer welcher 1 Knecht reformirt und 1 Knecht Catholischer religion hat.	1	1	1	1	..	2	6
	Summa	1	1	1	1	..	2	6

Dass auser diesen sechs Wieder[1] Taufern sich sonsten keine dahier befinden mithin vorstehende Verzeichnuss vollständig seye, Ein solches wird hiermit pflichtmässig attestirt.

Heydelberg, den 17ten Tag Monaths Aprilis 1773
G. Lehmann

No. 36j, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 46

LIST deren Mönnonisten dahir in Mannheim

1.	Christian Schumacher	..		2	3
2.	Martin Möllinger	..		1	2
3.	Jacob Pletscher	1		2	1
4.	Johannes Hassert	1	webergesell	2	1
5.	Johannes Koller	1	webergesell	2	..
6.	Jacob Bächtell	..	webergesell	3	1
7.	Jacob Hunzinger	7		..	1
8.	Jacob Neukomet	1		1	1
9.	Johannes Schumacher	3		..	..
10.	Daniel Geber	5		2	2
11.	Jacob Geber	2		2	2
12.	Matheus Bonn	3		..	..
13.	Friedrich Bergthold	2		..	1
14.	Jacob Hackmann	5		2	1
15.	Johannes Hackmann	4		1	1
16.	Johannes Schmitt	6		1	1
17.	Peter Graf	4		1	1

Mannheim den 20. April 1773 Martin Möllinger Daniel Geber

No. 36k, Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4233, fol. 52

Summarische Verzeichnus

deren in Churpfältzischer Ämbtern und Hauptstädten vorfindlicher Menonisten nach Massgaab eingezogener berichteren in dem Jahr 1773.

Altzey	80	83	147	131	17	34	635
Bacharach	hat keine Menonisten						
Boxberg	hat ebenfalls keine						
Bretten	3	3	8	kinder	3	3	20
Creutzenach	hat keine						
Germersheim	10	8	17	18	23	13	89
Heydelberg	33	44	139	....	41	36	293
Ladenburg	17	19	28	31	11	10	116
Lauterecken	hat keine						
Lindenfels	hat keine						
Mossbach	17	16	77	Kinder	29	22	156
Neustatt	48	53	162	Kinder	9	8	280
Oppenheim	1	....	4	....	2	2	9
Simmern	hat keine						
Stromberg	hat keine						
Umstatt et Otzberg	hat keine						
Stadt							
Mannheim	17 mit wieber		45	Kinder	22	20	104
Heydelberg	1	1	1	1	....	2	6
Räth							
Franckenthal	Hat keine						
Summa	227	227	618	181	152	150	1708

Mannheim den 5ten Octorbris 1773.

In fidem

Kretzer

NO. 37 1774-S

Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 6707

SPECIFICATION

der in dem Ambt **Dilsperg** angehöriger orthenbefindlichen Menonisten

	Nahrungs Cut	Mittel	Standt Schlecht
Zuzenhausen			
Heinrich **Landes** giebt Jährl 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungs Kapital 483 fl.	..	1	..
Michael **Musselmann** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungs Capital 102 fl.	..	..	1
Meckesheim			
Hanns **Pletscher** giebt Jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 510 fl.	..	1	..

Eschelbronn

Hanns Benedict **Musselmann** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt u. ist als Baron Telzscher Geyssel Meyer ohne Schatzung	..	..	1
Hanns **Pletscher,** der Jung giebt jähr. 6 fl. schutzgeldt als Baron Telzscher Geyselmeyer ohnbeleget	..	1	..

Mauer

Ullrich **Brandt** giebt Jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 150 fl.	..	1	..
Heinrich **Kauffmann** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 150 fl.	..	1	..

Langenzell

Hanns **Meÿer** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und monatl. Schatzung oder Steuergeldt 1 K 4 xer 4 fl.	..	1	..
Peter **Bühler** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und monatl. Schatzungs oder Steuergeldt 1 K 4 xer 4 fl.	..	..	1
Hanns **Bühler** giebt jährlich 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und monatlich Schatzung 1 K 4 xer 4 fl.	..	1	..
Jacob **Gross** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und monatl. Schatzung 6 Kreuzer	..	..	1
Hanns **Grossen** Wittibe, so durch deren Sohn Hanns **Grossen** unterhalten wird	..	..	..
Hanns Jacob **Kauffmann** giebt jährl 6 fl. Schutzgeld und monatl. Cchatzung 32 xer 2 Heller	..	..	1

Biederspach

Hanns **Weissen** Frau, deren Mann reform religion giebt jährl. 3 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 50 fl.	..	..	..
Cristoph **Solingers** Frau giebt jährl. 3 fl. Schutzgeldt	..	..	..

Klingenthaler Hof

Heinrich **Kauffmann** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeld und hat Schatzungs capital 50 fl.	..	..	..
Michael **Kresenbühl** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt	..	..	1
Hanns **Kauffmann** ein armer Mann giebt jährl 6 fl. Schutzgeldt	..	..	1

Angelloch

Jacob **Hochstätter** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt u. hat Schatzungs capital 100 fl.	..	1	..

Ochsenbach

Hanns **Kauffmann** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungskapital 100 fl.	..	1	..
Jacob **Schallenberger** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt	..	..	1

Helmstatt

Hanns Ulrich **Huber** gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schutzungscapital 440 fl.	..	1	..
Christian **Wagner** der alte gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 75 fl.	..	..	1
Christian **Schmutz** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 50 fl.	..	..	1
Heinrich **Kauffman** giebt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 75 fl.	..	..	1
Michael **Frantz** gibt jährlich 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 50 fl.	..	..	1
Hanss **Schmuz** gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt	..	1	..
Samuel **Huber** gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt	..	..	1
Heinrich **Wagner** gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 100 fl.	..	..	1
Hanns **Wagner** gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt	..	..	1
Hanns **Kleen** Frau gibt jährl. 3 fl. Schutzgeld und der Mann hat Schatzungscapital 100 fl.	..	..	1

Hof Hohenhardt

Christian **Wagner** gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 100 fl.	..	1	..

Beyersthal

Christian **Brenneman** gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 65 fl.	..	..	1

Dayspach

David **Kauffmann** gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 536 fl.	..	1	..

Schatthausen

Rudolph **Landes** Geyselmeÿer bei Durchl. von Brügge gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt	..	..	1
Hanss **Gerber** gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 155 fl.	..	..	1

Closter Lobenfeldt

Michael **Meyer** gibt jährl. 6 fl. Schutzgeldt und hat Schatzungscapital 60 fl.	..	..	1
Hanns **Meyer** gibt jährlich 6 fl. Schutzgeldt u. hat Schatzungscapital 65 fl.	..	..	1

Nota Das Schutzgeldt oder recognition gefället jährlich sämbtliche nacher Dillsperg

Dass in beschehener Nachsuch und Examinirung ein mehreres nicht befunden, undt der Zustandt also angezeiget worden; solches wirdt durch nachstehende Unterschriften attestiret

Dillsperg 13 July 1774

NO. 38 1793-N

Bericht von **Eppingen vom** 9. Oktober 1793

Dass hier 3 Familien wohnen, welche in herrschaftlichem Schutz stehen, nämlich Henrich **Funck** hat 5 Kinder, ist wohl angesehen

Christian **Hör** alt, hat 7 Kinder, kommt leider im Vermögen nicht bei

Johannes **Horsch** hat 4 Kinder, ist wohl angesehen.

Diese Leute ernähren sich mit Ackerbau recht gut, führen zugleich nach Gewohnheit der Täufer einen ganz stillen Lebenswandel, worüber ihnen das allgemeine Zeugnis der gänzlichen Zufriedenheit nicht angesprochen werden kann.

NO. 39 1794-N

Bericht des Oberamts **Mosbach** vom 11. März 1794.

Immelhausen					
Martin Frey	50 Jahr angen.	6	Zahl der Fam.	4000 fl.	Vermög.
Rud. Frey Wwe	" " "	8	"	3500 "	"
Chr. Binkele	" " "	4	"	2000 "	"
Hch. Binkele	36 " "	4	"	2000 "	"
Richen					
Georg Funk ist da geboren u. erzog.		6	"	8000 "	"
Abraham Landes	18 Jahr angen.	5	"	3000 "	"
Rohrbach					
Joh. Dieder(?)	1785 angen	3	"	1000 "	"
Matth. Lehmann	1792 "	4	"	1000 "	"
Dallau					
Chr. Muselmann	" "	1	"	1000 "	"
Chr. Lichti	" "	4	"	1000 "	"
Lehnsort Unter					
Joh. Bechtel	1760 "	3	"	12000 "	"
Jak. Frey	1786 "	7	"	5200 "	"
Joh. Horsch	1760 "	5	"	4400 "	"
Chr. Rocki(?)	1786 "	7	"	4000 "	"